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CASTE-DISCRIMINATIONS IN INDIGENOUS INDIAN EDUCATION - I: NATURE AND EXTENT OF EDUCATION IN EARLY 19TH CENTURY BRITISH INDIA

by

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Preface & acknowledgement

This study is based on data collected for a larger study of backward classes and reservations in the context of British educational and employment policies from 1800 to 1947, and the politics of reservations from 1950 to the present centering around the special treatment provisions of the Indian Constitution.

In the present series on indigenous Indian education, there will be three more papers on the discriminatory dimensions of indigenous education in the early 19th century Madras, Bombay, and Bengal Presidencies.

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1 INTRODUCTION

> Like all other attempts to cramp the human intellect, and forcibly to restrain men within bounds which nature scorns to keep, this system, however specious in theory, has operated like the Chinese national shoe; it has rendered the whole nation cripples.
>
> William Ward, I, 64.

Like many other foreign observers, Ward[1] might have painted Indian society of his times in darker colours than it deserved. His depiction of those aspects of the society which he might have found repugnant to his mind and culture might have been especially harsh. As a missionary he might have also had a vested interest in such a depiction. Despite all these, his analogy of the operation of the caste system[2] to that of the 'Chinese national shoe' seems very apt even today, though to a lesser extent than in early 19th century when he looked to the British for India's salvation from its cultural quagmire. For, despite significant changes in the caste system since the early times of British rule, and despite considerable weakening of its virulence, the historically accumulated evil-effects of its discriminatory basis still hang like a millstone round the neck of Indian society.

1.1 Discriminatory basis

This discriminatory basis is too well known to need elaboration. Among the important writings on traditional Indian society, it is evident from Louis Dumont's discussion of the ideology of the caste system. It is further evident from Ambedkar's attack on Chaturvarnya for placing the Sudras at the bottom of Indian society and subjecting them to innumerable social ignominies and disabilities so as to prevent them from rising above this bottom-gradation, and from his attack on the progenitor of this theory, the Hindu

sacred literature, as fabrications of the Brahmins for sustaining their superiority in Indian society (Ambedkar, xi-xxi). Finally, it is also evident from Romila Thaper's observation that as exponents of Hindu social laws, the Brahmins also expounded their innate superiority and a system of social hierarchies in which socio-economic and legal rights and privileges decreased with each descending step, and that while rights and privileges were mostly confined to the upper castes the burden of society fell most heavily on the Sudras and the untouchables who could claim hardly any rights (Thapar, 31).

The justification of this discriminatory basis by the doctrines of karma and metampsychosis is also too well known. O'Malley stated this succinctly:

> The inequalities of the caste system and the basic fact that a man's place in the social sphere is unalterably fixed by the accident of birth are justified to the Hindus by their belief in metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls combined with the doctrine of Karma, which asserts that each rebirth is the direct result of a man's actions in a previous existence. This life is but one in many, an insignificant portion of the total span of existence. There is an endless series of rebirths, and as a man sows, so shall he reap. A man's caste consequently depends on his actions in a previous life; worth in one life determines birth in another. This explains the inequalities of caste, why one man is born to honour, another to dishonour. The belief is based on the idea of predestination, and it induces acquiescence in the rights and disabilities attaching to one's birth. The general idea is, in fact, that one can be but what one is born to be. It is enjoined in the Hindu scriptures that a man should do his duty in that state of life which his caste determines for him; and those who do so are buoyed up by the hope that they may at a future rebirth be members of a higher caste (O'Malley, 18-19).

Of the disastrous effects of this discriminatory basis on Indian society, Ward wrote:

> The institution of the caste, so far from having contributed to the happiness of society, has been one of its greatest scourges. It is the formation of artificial orders, independently of merit or demerit dooming nine-tenths of the people, even before birth, to a state of mental and bodily degradation, in which they are for ever shut out from all the learning and honours of the country.
>
> This system commences with an act of the most consummate injustice that was ever perpetrated; binds in chains of adamant nine-tenths of the people; debars them for ever from all access to a higher state, whatever their merits may be; puts a lock upon the whole intellect of three of the four orders, and branding their very birth with infamy, and rivetting their chains for ever, says to millions and millions of mankind, "you proceeded from the feet of Brumha; you were created for servitude" (Ward, I, 143-4).

While these disastrous effects were undoubtedly the greatest on pre-British Indian society, amongst its different institutions, they were perhaps the greatest on education, as Ward himself implied. It is these which we seek to examine in the present study.

Considering the complexity of caste and education, we shall not venture to establish a causal nexus between the interplay of these institutions. Nor shall we expect anything like unimpeachable accuracy in our analysis and understanding of the available data, the nature and limitations of which will be explained in appropriate contexts. We shall confine our endeavour to an examination of the differentiations in the participation of the major caste-groups in the institution of indigenous education, and the likely role of the caste system in working out these differentiations. However, in doing this, we should bear in mind that we do not use education in the broad Durkheimean sense

of socialization. Nor do we use educational differentiations in the sense of functional differentiations resulting from the balancing between societal needs and individual needs through motivation and choice (Durkheim, 18, 28). We use education in the limited sense of formal instruction, and educational differentiations as differentiations resulting from consciously contrived social discriminations. The differentiations we thus seek to understand will be mainly as revealed by data available for the early 19th century Madras, Bombay, and Bengal Presidencies.

1.2 Myth of the beautiful tree

These data were little known until Gandhi's 1941 Chatham House speech. In this speech Gandhi bemoaned that India was then more illiterate than it was fifty or hundred years ago, and blamed the British for this:

> (The) British administrators, when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they were, began to root them out. They scratched the soil and began to look at the root, and left the root like that, and the beautiful tree perished (Quoted in Dharampal, 355).

What Gandhi idealised as the beautiful tree was, however, solely a making of the caste system and hence it would have been really beautiful only to the castes ensconsed at the summit of the caste-hierarchy, which alone could reap its fruits. Admitting this fact would have meant acknowledging the discriminatory basis of the pre-British Indian society, which would have been demeaning and disgraceful to Gandhi. So, while blaming the British for the decay of indigenous education, which was only in the fitness of the then political game, Gandhi conveniently ignored the seamy-side of this institution.

Long before Gandhi, in early 19th century the decay of indigenous education was decried by William Adam.[3] Describing to Governor General William Bentinck the mode in which he proposed to conduct the Bengal educational survey (of which more shortly), Adam suggested a preliminary investigation into the actual state of education among the different social classes, and explained the need for it thus:

> When the population of a country is homogenous, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, and having common interests, such an investigation might be less necessary; but where the more instructed portion of the population is separated from the less instructed portion by difference of language, as in Scotland, by difference of language and religion, as in Ireland; and by the further difference, as in India, caused by the relative position of foreigners and natives, conquerors and conquered, it is indispensable (Sanial, 262).

Later, finding from his investigation that higher learning in Bengal was virtually monopolised by the Brahmin castes, Adam lamented:

> It seems never to have entered in the conceptions of the learned that it was their duty to do something for the instruction of those classes who are as ignorant and degraded where learning abounds as where it does not exist (from Adam's second report reproduced in Dibona, 88).

However, despite his awareness of the social differentiations, despite the sharpening of this awareness by the data collected by him, despite his indictment of the Brahmins, and despite all its attendant evils, Adam also strongly pleaded for the revival of indigenous education.

Almost half a century after Adam's survey, towards the close of the 19th century, Leitner[4] decried the decay of indigenous education in stronger terms:

> (The) more ambitious of (the trading classes) gladly availed themselves of the Government system of education, which promised them elevation in social rank, or rather gave them opportunity, in the event of being employed in the public service, of exercising power over those higher castes that had hitherto despised them... (The) temptation to become practically a higher caste through official preferment, by means of falling in with the Government system of education, was too strong to be resisted... When English became one of the main avenues to higher employment, the most ambitious members of these classes still more readily availed themselves of it as the easiest means for acquiring political power and for taking the place of the Brahmans as the intellectual leaders of the people. Thus, after the subversion of the religious principle, by the elimination of the priestly classes from our educational councils, was introduced a social bouleversement, in which neither birth nor traditional rank, nor the reputation of piety, liberality, of courage, seemed to weigh with Government -- the Native's Providence on earth -- against the apparently more practical usefulness of the supple parvenus who began to monopolise official favour... (And) finally, a state of things has been reached when nine-tenths of those who benefit by middle and higher education belong to those nouvelles souches sociales from which, with the disappearance of the influence of the aristocracy and of the priesthood, those grave disorders may be expected in India as in Europe (Leitner, I, iii-iv).

Leitner's message must be loud and clear; but his motive must be made clearer: In the smattering of instruction offered by the British to the educationally disadvantaged social groups of pre-British times, he apprehended an anathema on his obscurantism, threatening to bury deep the corpse of Manu. He wished to avert this anathema by letting the corpse stink, by perpetrating India's archaic and unjust social order of aristocracy and social rank, of privileged high castes and despised low-castes, of Brahminic priest-hood and intellectual hegemony, and so on.

Thus, Gandhi was not the first to glorify and idealise indigenous education, decry its decay, advocate its revival, and at the same time ignore or justify its seamy-side. However, his charge against the British and its challenge by Philip Hartog[5] - a challenge which Gandhi could not face successfully despite best efforts -, aroused a lot of what Dumont characterised in another context as 'Brahmanic patriotism' (Dumont, 269) in indigenous Indian education.

Among what followed were a 1940 publication as an all-out attempt to defend Gandhi, its 1956 reprint; the 1941 and 1983 republication of the Bengal educational data of 1835-38, long after their original publication in 1868; the 1945 publication of the Bombay educational data of 1824-25, for the first time in their original full form, its 1951 reprint; the 1973 and 1982 reprints of the Punjab educational data long after their original publication in 1882; and, the 1983 publication of the Madras educational data of 1822-25 for the first time in their original full form.

Virtually all these publications were verbatim reproductions of the original data, appended to lengthy and mostly desultory introductions. Not surprisingly, none of them made any serious and systematic attempt to analyse and interpret the original data, though most of them demonstrated a fervour of that Brahminic patriotism in abundant measure, through an undue anxiety to show the institution of indigenous education in a benign light, and an unjustified attempt to gloss over its discriminatory basis. It is against this background that the present study is undertak

1.3 <u>Scheme of the study</u>

This study is divided into four parts. In addition to the above introduction, part I will attempt a reconstruction of the institution of indigenous education. This attempt

will comprise a brief discussion of the origin and significane of the institution and of the educational enquiries of the three Presidencies, followed by a detailed account of the nature and extent of indigenous education in early 19th century British India. The remaining three parts will examine in detail the caste-differentiations in the participation in the institution of indigenous education in the early 19th century Madras, Bombay, and Bengal Presidencies.

1.4 Data-base

While the study is thus an endeavour, partly to reconstruct the institution of indigenous education in all its characteristics and complexity, and mainly to expose the myth of the beautiful tree and its discriminatory basis, a note of caution on its data-base will be in order: Although the study is of indigenous education, the data are by no means indigenous. As the data used were collected by the British administrators they are bound to be intricately and inextricably bound up with what is often termed eurocentrism, and more clearly with the whole host of British reformist idealism, with the interaction between imperial interests -- both material and moral -- and colonial realities, or what passed for such realities, and above all, with British attempts to mould Indians in their own image. Consequently, the British understanding and valuation of indigenous education might not have been free from errors and biases. But, as the only data which have so far come to light are those collected by the British (leaving aside the nostalgic interpretations of religious texts which some authors have passed on for hard data), all that we could do is to be cautious of the likely limitations and treat our formulations as tentative.

Some of the readers not familiar with the data used may find an apparent contradiction in the recurrence throughout the study of the names of three of the Ramrajya theorists, viz., Dharampal, Dibona, and Parulekar, with whose views we strongly differ. To the benefit of such readers we should at the outset make it clear that unless specified in the text, our references are not to the views of these authors but only to the original educational documents brought together by them.

2 INDIGENOUS EDUCATION : ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE

Indigenous education, as the term implies, is education imparted through indigenous schools. The Education Commission of 1882 defined these schools as educational institutions "established or conducted by natives of India on native methods", and described them as tols or seats of Sanskrit learning, maktabs and madrasas or schools and colleges of Muhammadans, and the large number of humbler village schools which "gave an elementary education to the trading classes and to the children of the petty landholders and well-to-do families among the cultivators" (ECR, 8, 56-7).

Although the Commission and its provincial committees treated these, the Gurumukhi, and the Parsi schools as indigenous, the Muhammadan and Parsi schools were brought to India by the Muhammadan rulers and the Parsis respectively. However, since they survived long enough to be sufficiently influenced by the native schools, for purposes of this study we shall treat these schools also as indigenous, though our discussion in this section will be confined to the Hindu schools which alone were indigenous in the real sense of the term.

2.1 Origin

Of the Hindu schools tols were perhaps the most ancient. They probably originated from the Vedic priesthood. The observations of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Education Commission (hereafter, Bengal Provincial Committee) seem to indicate this:

> The authors of the Vedic Hymns are described as surrounded by large bodies of disciples. The Code of Manu laid down that the youth of the twice-born classes should reside for years with their preceptors before assuming the householder's duties. Learning was in fact a quasi-religious obligation upon the

> higher classes of Hindus, and it was imparted, at first by Brahmins as family priests, and then by the more learned among them as public teachers. Such was the origin of the seats of Sanskrit learning, or tols, which are still very numerous in the country. Their professors and pupils subsisted on grants of land made by the sovereign (BPR, 1).

Representing thus the Vedic system of education, the tols seem to have covered the schools held by, a) settled householders who admitted to their instruction pupils who were required to live with them as Vratacharis under prescribed discipline and vows; and, b) specialists and literary celebrities in search of whom the pupils wandered through the country (Mookerji, 37, 133, 137).

In theory all the twice-born castes had access to this system, the Brahmins as both teachers and students, and others only as students. There is, however, hardly any evidence of the participation of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas to any significant extent, even as students (Mookerji, 104; Thapar, 140-1).[6] And, whatever might have been the extent of their participation, it was only to be an expression of their differential caste-status, especially in relation to the Brahmins. This is evident from the variations in the age prescribed for Upanayana, the material prescribed for student's uniform, the invocation of the teacher while receiving the students, and the course of study.

The age of Upayanaya was to be generally 8 years for Brahmins, 11 years for Kshatriyas, and 12 years for Vaisyas (Altekar, 1934, 15). The earlier age for Brahmins was attributed to their "high aims, and the difficult and extended course of study and discipline required for their realization" (Mookerji, 175); and to the main duties of Brahmins centering around teaching and learning (Prabhu, 112). But, considering that both the aims and the duties were conferred on the Brahmins by the Brahmins themselves, the

earlier age was in all probability to legitimate their pretensions of intellectual superiority (Keay, 29). In any case that is at least the belief cherished by the Brahmins themselves. This is evident from the remark of the Cuddapah Sub-Collector in his educational return of 1825 that the earlier age for Brahmins was attributed by a Brahmin to the superior intellect of his caste which enabled his children to attain instructable age much earlier than those of the inferior castes (from the return reproduced in Dharampal, 221-2).

As of the uniform, the upper garment (Ajina) was to be the skin of Krishna or Ena, black buck for Brahmins, of Ruru or spotted deer for Kshatriyas, and of Vasta or Aja, goat for Vaisyas; while the lower garment (Vasa) was to be of Sana (hemp) coloured red with manjishtha for Brahmins, Kshauma or fibre of Atasi plant coloured yellow for Kshatriyas; and of Avika or goat's wool coloured Kauseya for Vaisyas. The danda (staff of wood) was to be of a length reaching upto the head for Brahmins, the forehead for Kshatriyas, and the nose for Vaisyas. The mekhala (girdle) was to be of munja grass for Brahmins, Jya (bowstring) for Kshatriyas, and Sana thread for Vaisyas. The Yajnopavita (sacred cord) was to be of Karpasa (cotton) for Brahmins, Sana for Kshatriyas, and goat's skin for Vaisyas (Mookerji, 178-9).

The invocation of the teacher was to be for 'great learning' while receiving a Brahmin student, for 'great royalty' while receiving a Kshatriya student, and for 'great wealth' while receiving a Vaisya student (Mookerji, 181).

While we do not have details of the course of study, two observations seem to indicate the variations in that as well:

1: (The) study of the Veda is opened by the Savitri. The Brahmana student is to be taught the Gayatri which belongs to Visvamitra; the Kshatriya is to be taught the Trishtubh which is a verse ascribed to Hiranyastupa; the Vaisya is to be taught the Jagati which is a verse ascribed to Vamadeva or to Hiranyastupa (Mookerji, 182).

2: (The) Kshatriya was normally and primarily concerned with those subjects of study which would give him a training in the occupation he had to follow. In the lists of subjects of study referred to in the literature of the period, those termed Kshatravidya (the science of the ruling class, of polity or administration), Ekayana (as interpreted by Sankara, viz. Niti-Sashtra) or Dhanurveda were therefore suitable for the Kshatriya (Mookerji, 153).

While the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas had access to Vedic education at least in theory, the Sudras and the castes below them were prevented from even such access by the myth of the sacredness of Vedic knowledge and the prohibition on its transmission to anyone who had not experienced the 'second birth'. Of the punishments which could be imposed on the Sudras for any attempt to receive Vedic education, Ambedkar wrote:

> According to the Gautama Dharma Sutra, if he listens intentionally to (a recitation of) the Veda, his ears shall be filled with (molten) tin or lac. If he recites (Vedic texts), his tongue shall be cut out. If he remembers them his body shall be split in twain (Ambedkar, 38).

While the total exclusion from education of the castes below the Sudras continued well into the present century, the Sudras were supposed to have begun to gain access to learning after the emergence of the village schools.

The origin of these schools has been attributed by some authors to the demand of the trading and agricultural classes (Keay, 57, 74, 144), and by some others to that of the twice-born castes in general:

> In the ancient system of education relatively few and specially chosen students were trained for religious leadership, but as the value of this education became more apparent and as its need by other members of the population was somewhat realised ..., there was developed another type of educational institution -- the village day school. Since the need for such a school was felt chiefly by those engaged in trade and in literary pursuits, the pupils came from the three upper castes. As in the case of the forest schools, Sudras and outcastes were not admitted (McKee, 9).

Attributing the origin of village schools to village priesthood, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote:

> Another class of educational institutions owed its origin to a different branch of the priesthood. Each village community of the Hindus had its tutelary idol, with a Brahmin specially attached to its worship. Offering worship to the idol on behalf of all the different castes of the village people, this Brahmin naturally took under him in his tutorial capacity the children of all those who, as either belonging to or connected with the twice-born, felt themselves under the obligation to acquire letters. Thus originated the village pathsalas, which are still so much cherished by the people. The pathsala teacher subsisted on the deottar land of the idol, and received from his pupils free-will offerings and occasionally fees (BPR, 1).

To understand the origin of the village schools more clearly, it is important to note that although these schools imparted only primary education, in all probability they originated only long after the latter. In other words, when primary education was first devised it was not in village schools, but in Vedic schools as part of Vedic education. This is evident from Altekar's observations that from about c 800 BC when the art of writing had become well known, it was impossible to be initiated into Vedic studies without a preliminary grounding in primary education, and that the discontinuance of Upanayana in the latter half of the first

millennium of Christian era from a large section of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas must have given a setback to the spread of literacy among the non-Brahmins (Altekar, 1934, 205-13).

If primary education was thus first devised only as part of Vedic education, its separation from the latter should have marked the origin of village schools. To understand this separation, we need first look at Max Weber's observations on the causes for the transfer of education from the hands of secular officials into those of literate priests, and its consequences:

> As literacy becomes more important for the conduct of purely secular affairs, which therefore assume the character of bureaucratic administration and proceed according to regulations and documents, education passes from the hands of secular officials and intellectuals into those of literate priests. The latter, for their part, occupy offices the functions of which involve the use of writing, as in the chancelleries of the Middle Ages. To what degree one or the other of these processes takes place depends also, apart from the degree to which the administration has become bureaucratized, on the degree to which other classes, principally the warrior nobles, have developed their own system of education and have taken it into their own hands (Weber, 1964, 70).

Since indigenous education was already in the hands of the priestly class the question of its transfer into their hands would not have arisen in the Indian context. All the same, even here literacy might have assumed importance for secular offices only from the time this class began to take to such affairs. The latter might have been the result of their supposed fall from Vedic grace, of which the observations of Francis Buchanan give some idea:

> The proper duty of a <u>Brahman</u> is meditation on things divine, and the proper manner of his procuring a subsistence is by begging (<u>Bhiksha</u>). This mode of living is considered as very agreeable to the gods;

> and all industry is deemed derogatory to the rank of a man, and more especially to that of a Brahman. The lower classes of society, however, in this degenerate age, not being sufficiently charitable, nor quite so willing to part with their money, as the noble cast of Brahmans could wish, many of that sacred order have been obliged to betake themselves to what they consider as unworthy employments, such as being governors and judges of cities, collectors of revenue, and accomptants; nay some even condescend to cultivate the earth by means of slaves. Hence arises the distinction of Brahmans into Vaidika and Lokika, or Lovadica; the former of whom follow the proper duties of the cast, while the Lokika debase themselves by dedicating their labours to worldly affairs (Buchanan, I, 20-1).

The importance of literacy to the bureaucracy which thus began to rise might not have been so much for the real need for it. On the contrary, since Brahmins were the only literati, their continued dominance in both bureaucracy and society would have depended on giving bureaucratic functions a semblance of importance and respectability by making literacy important for such functions. The importance of literacy so conjured up would have resulted in the separation of primary education from the religious education in Vedic schools and its transfer as secular instruction in village schools.

That such might have been the origin of village schools can also be inferred from the remarks of the Education Commission which indicate that earlier even in these schools Brahmins were the main participants:

> All except outcasts, and the lower castes whose touch was pollution, were admitted to the pathsala. With the admission of non-Brahman castes in large numbers to the school the instruction necessarily ceased to be free. While, therefore, education in the high school or tol was gratuitous, the master of the village school was supported by fees from his pupils, who paid either in cash or kind, or in both (ECR, 64).

The Education Commission divided these schools into the ordinary Hindu schools or pathsalas and the bazar schools. It also pointed out that the bazar schools were in some respects institutions of a special kind, regarded by some as "secessions from the pathsala on the part of the trading communities, who required something better suited to their needs than the regular course of instruction given in the village-school" (ECR, 64):

> The ordinary Hindu pathsala endeavoured to give a useful education to all classes including the trading classes. But if the cultivating classes predominated, the chief share of the master's attention was necessarily devoted to them, while he could not neglect the claims of the few pupils who were preparing to enter a tol. Meanwhile the children of the trading classes were not satisfied with the attention which they received, (sic!) inasmuch as they required a more practical education than that which sufficed for the simple wants of the other members of the village community. Accordingly, in large towns, where the merchants and tradesmen were strong enough to supply their own demand, they established a special class of schools, called bazar schools. These schools are also called Lande, Sarafi, Hindu-Sindhi, or Mahajani schools, according to the peculiar character which they teach, and which the particular class employs in its business transactions. Their subjects of instruction are accounts, the writing out of bills and drafts, book-keeping, and mental arithmetic. Bazar schools are essentially a commercial speculation; and not only is the master usually paid in money, but he is generally paid on the contract system, receiving a fixed grant on the completion of a certain course of special instruction. As the servant of the parents, he has never commanded the respect which the religious Pandit of the high school, or the guru of the village school obtains (ECR, 73).

Contrary to the Commission's observations, the cultivating castes did not predominate the village schools, and majority of the students and the teachers in these schools also were from the twice-born castes, especially from the Brahmins. We shall return to this issue in the subsequent

parts of our study. But, what is more relevant to our present discussion is to note that the emergence of these schools was a major phase in the evolution of indigenous education. It was also the first step in the secularisation of elementary education, while the second step was the alteration in the personnel of the teachers caused by the spread of Buddhism. Of the latter, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote:

> Buddhism spread over the whole country from its original seat of power in Behar. It attacked the Brahmin professors through its own men of learning. It set up its Viharas as rivals of the tols. By its disintegrating action on the Brahmin, it altered to some extent the personnel of the pathsala teachers. It is to the Buddhistic times, in all probability, that we must trace the beginnings of that change under which the village school-master is not found to be invariably the village priest and Brahmin, as he certainly was in early Hindu times. Thus was taken the second step in secularising the elementary schools of the country -- a step which was not retraced (as such steps never are retraced) when Buddhism, after living side by side with Hinduism for some centuries finally gave place to its rival (BPR, 2).

The Committee also noted that while the action of Buddhism on the pathsala and its reaction on the tols were on the whole beneficial, the effects of the Muhammadan conquests were not so:

> The Mahomedan conquest proved disastrous to all indigenous educational institutions. The proprietary rights in land changed hands; in many cases the village communities had to meet the requisitions of landlords who were heedless or ignorant of their customs, and a foreign law became the law of the land. The language of the Courts was changed. Indigenous learning lost most of its supports; and after the country had settled down, the well-to-do classes of Hindus took gradually to the cultivation of a foreign language, literature, and manners. The tols were more and more deserted, and left to those only who wanted to learn the Hindu ritual. The pathsalas also fell

> more and more exclusively to those classes who (were) content with the bare elements of letters. In course of time the Musulman teachers and Musalman schools drew off the largest portion of the upper and middle classes of the community, and the tols and pathsalas either died off or barely managed to survive (BPR, 2).

Irrespective of these effects, indigenous education still had great significance in Indian society until it was replaced by the education introduced by the British, though to cover up its discriminatory nature, it is often argued that in pre-British Indian society education had no significance and that there was no demand for it.

2.2 Significance

The significance of Vedic education must be all too obvious from the fact that it was from the pretensions of Vedic knowledge that Brahmins as a group derived their religious supremacy, in virtue of which, as Weber observed, at first the great patrimonial Hindu kingdoms used them in support of their legitimation-interest:

> The prayer of the Brahman procured victory for the king. Like a tower the Brahman overshadowed the king. He was not only a ritualistic "superman", but his power equalled that of the gods, and a king without a Brahman is simply said to be "without guidance" for guidance by the *purohita* was self-understood (Weber, 1962, 125).

It must also be only too obvious that it was again from their pretensions of Vedic knowledge that Brahmins as a group derived their preeminent social position, as Ketkar pointed out:

> Another great thing which helped them maintain a high status was their superior education.[7] Without education any Brahmana would have been looked down upon by his caste-fellows. It is this high regard for education which raised them above all and maintained them so (Ketkar, 162).

It was the realization of the great significance of Vedic education which prompted Brahmins to keep all for themselves the right to initiate to education not only members of their own castes, but of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas as well; and to assign this right such great ritual value as to be a powerful weapon in their armoury. The disappearance of Upanayana from a large section of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas mentioned earlier might have been the result of the use of this weapon against these castes. This is also indicated by Ambedkar's observation that when the Indo-Aryan society recognised only three Varnas, Sudras were part of the Kshatriya Varna, that following the tyrannies and oppression of the Brahmins by the Sudra kings, the Brahmins refused to invest the Sudras with the sacred thread, and that with the loss of this thread the Sudras fell from their Kshatriya rank and landed below the Vaisyas as the fourth Varna (Ambedkar, 237).

It was again the realization of the significance of Vedic education which prompted the Brahmins to hoard such knowledge by making a great mystery of it, as Abbe Dubois[8] remarked:

> The Brahmins have always been, as it were, its depositaries, and have always considered it as belonging exclusively to themselves. They saw well enough what a moral ascendency knowledge would give them over the other castes, and they therefore made a mystery of it by taking all possible precautions to prevent other classes from obtaining access to it (Beauchamp, 376).

The mystery which the Brahmins so conjured up was the myth of the sacredness of Vedic knowledge. This sacredness also gave such knowledge a secret character resulting in the prohibition on setting it down in writing and in its oral transmission for several centuries[9] even after the art of writing had become well known. Weber observed that this

character of secret knowledge was "to protect the professional interest of the guild" (Weber, 1964, 67):

> Since the knowledge of the Brahmans was secret, the monopoly of education by their own progeny resulted automatically. Thus, alongside educational qualification for the priesthood there appeared qualification by birth (Weber, 1962, 59).

Although primary education was much less and in fact incomparably inferior to Vedic education, it was not without its social significance. Its separation from Vedic to village schools itself is a clear indication of this significance.

In one sense, the significance of primary education was the significance of bureaucracy itself and should be evident from the supposed predominance of the latter by the traditional literati. This predominance is indicated by Thapar's observation that "the more senior officials such as the revenue collectors, the treasurers and those concerned with legal matters, might well have been of brahmana origin as they ... (required) a background of formal education" and that "the same was probably true of the important but less exalted rank of scribes, recorders and accountants" (Thapar, 137). It is also indicated by the observations of Dubois:

> Under the supremacy of the Brahmins the people of India hated their government, while they cherished and respected their rulers; under the supremacy of Europeans they hate and despise their rulers from the bottom of their hearts, while they cherish and respect their government. And here I would remark that the rule of all the Hindu princes, and often that of the Mahomedans, was, properly speaking, Brahmanical rule; since all posts of confidence were held by Brahmins (Beauchamp, 4-5).

In another sense, the significance of primary education was the significance of the teaching profession. For, as the Bombay Provincial Committee of the Education Commission

(hereafter, Bombay Provincial Committee) remarked, the teacher of the indigenous village school was "regarded as a man of considerable education and held in high respect" because of the fact that he had no rivals "and was over-rated by the ignorant masses, very much in the same way as the schoolmaster in the Deserted Village was overrated by his rustic neighbours" (BPR, I, 79).

In yet another and perhaps more important sense, this significance was the significance of the social equilibrium in which - to paraphrase Francois Bernier, the 17th century French physician in the Mughal Court -, the embroiderer could bring up his son only as an embroiderer, the goldsmith's son became only a goldsmith, and the son of a physician was brought up as a physician (Smith, 259); or of that social equilibrium which Pietro della Valle, a 17th century, 'Noble Roman' captured so well in his letter from Surat sent to his friend on March 22, 1623 :

> (They) never rise nor fall, nor change condition: whence some are husbandmen, others, mechanick, as taylers, shoemakers, and the like; others, factors or merchants, such as they whom we call Banians, but they in their language more correctly Vania; others soldiers, as the Ragia-put; And thus everyone attends, and is employed in the proper trade of his family, without any mutation ever happening amongst them, or alliance of one race contracted with another (Havers, 41).

Far from altering this static equilibrium, the significance of primary education was to ensure its reproduction by ensuring that literacy did not make such an easy spread as would make the subservient social groups assertive and aspiring and endanger the social order in the strange manner apprehended by Leitner. The evidence taken by the provincial committees of the Education Commission give us some general idea of the reasons for this drive against literacy.

Thus, one of the witnesses before the Madras Provincial Committee remarked that the higher classes were decidedly hostile to the education of the labouring classes; for, for every low caste-man educated a Brahmin would be thrown out of employment (MPR, Evidence, 156). Another witness, before the Bengal Provincial Committee, stated that the lower classes remained subservient so long as they were ignorant, and that the influential classes did not like their education as that would enable them to contend with them for their respective rights (BPR, 248).

A third witness, before the Bombay Provincial Committee, expressed similar views:

> The great majority of the influential classes are not only indifferent to the extension of elementary knowledge to every class of society, but most of them would discourage, and not a few would oppose efforts for the spread of education among the agricultural and low castes. The reasons are: 1) the old conservative views which teach that knowledge should be confined to certain classes; 2) the fear that it will cause the influential classes to lose their prestige, and free the lower classes from their present subserviency. Some Brahmins urge that studying will injure the health of the boys of the cultivator class, and that few boys will ever follow farming, if they get a knowledge even of reading and writing. The cultivators, as well as the Brahmins say, "if the low-castes get an education, who will do the coarse and low work of society"? (BPR, II, 344).

The drive against literacy was in essence the suppression of the demand for literacy through various direct and indirect institutional and non-institutional mechanisms. This suppression did result in protests. Ketkar mentioned that "a heresy which took delight in promulgating contempt regarding the Brahmanical education and culture was gaining ground" (Ketkar, 162). Of this heresy Buddhism was undoubtedly the strongest expression to which we already made a

brief reference. As an unwitting contradiction of his own distorted world-view Leitner also acknowledged such protests:

> (It) should always be remembered that every Hindu movement notably that of Buddha, Nanak, and in modern times that of the educated Natives, has one great aim -- the throwing-off the intellectual yoke of the Brahmin (Leitner, I, 17).

Despite these protests, the mechanisms devised to suppress the demand for education did their work well into the present century. While this in itself is a clear expression of the recognition of the social significance of education, albeit negatively, its results were the caste-discriminations in the participation in the institution of education.

3 EDUCATIONAL ENQUIRIES

Of the periodic British enquiries into Indian education conducted since early 19th century, those of 1822-25, 1824-25, and 1835-38, in the Madras, Bombay, and Bengal Presidencies respectively were the most extensive ever undertaken before the appointment of the Education Commission in 1882. More importantly for our purpose, they also provide the most elaborate and informative data on the nature and extent of, and the caste-discriminations in indigenous education.

Although the enquiries in all the three Presidencies were prompted by a belated recognition of the vital role of Indian education in the promotion of imperial interests, the manner in which these enquiries were conducted and the matter which they collected were not uniform. This is owing to the fact that unlike the all-India enquiries of the Education Commission these enquiries were conducted at the initiative of the Presidency-heads with the latter being influenced by their own views and wants.

3.1 Munro and Madras enquiries

The Madras enquiries ordered by the Presidency Governor Thomas Munro in June 1822 in a short Minute of three paragraphs were prompted by him attempts to provide a moral-basis to the British rule through the advance of the Indians. But the advance which he perceived was not so much through the removal of India's ignorance as through redressal of its poverty and the extension to it of a greater share in the honours and emoluments of office. However, in conjunction with these, he fully recognized the British obligation to educate the Indians (Arbuthnot, Beaglehole, Gleig, Krishnaswami), and in a later minute of education, viewed government expenditure on education as a well-deserved investment:

> Whatever expense Government may incur in the education of the people, will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people (Dharampal, 250-1).

Munro felt that a prerequisite to such an expenditure was a record of the actual state of existing education and in his earlier Minute ordering the enquiries stressed the need for preparing such a record through elaborate enquiries:

> Much has been written both in England and in this country about the ignorance of the people of India and the means of disseminating knowledge among them. But the opinions upon this subject are the mere conjectures of individuals unsupported by any authentic documents and differing so widely from each other as to be entitled to very little attention. Our power in this country and the nature of its own municipal institutions have certainly rendered it practicable to collect material from which a judgement might be formed of the state of the mental cultivation of the people. We have made geographical and agricultural surveys of our provinces. We have investigated their resources and endeavoured to ascertain their population, but little or nothing has been done to learn the state of education. We have no record to show the actual state of education throughout the country. Partial inquiries have been made by individuals, but those have taken place at distant periods -- and on a small scale and no inference can be drawn from them with regard to the country in general (Dharampal, 83).

The record he expected was to cover various issues on the state of education such as the number of schools, the number of scholars by caste, the names of books used, duration of instruction, the fees, the nature and amount of public endowments in support of the schools, and the details of colleges or other institutions for teaching the higher branches of learning. These issues, as listed by him, comprised the scope of the enquiries he proposed in each district:

> The only record which can furnish the information required is a list of the schools in which reading and writing are taught in each district showing the number of scholars in each and the caste to which they belong. The Collectors should be directed to prepare this document according to the form which accompanies this paper. They should be desired to state the names of the books generally read at the schools. The time which scholars usually continue, at such schools. The monthly or yearly charge to the scholars and whether any of the schools are endowed by the publick and if so the nature and amount of the fund. When there are colleges or other institutions for teaching Theology, Law, Astronomy, etc an account should be given of them. These sciences are usually taught privately without fee or reward by individuals to a few scholars or disciplies, but there are also some instances in which the Native Governments have granted allowances in money and land for the maintenance of the Teachers.
>
> In some districts, reading and writing are confined almost entirely to Brahmins and the mercantile class. In some they extent to other classes and are pretty general among the Patails of villages and principal Royets. To the women of Brahmins and of Hindoos in general they are unknown because the knowledge of them is prohibited and regarded as unbecoming of the modesty of the sex and fit only for publick Dancers. But among the women of the Rajbundah and some other tribes of Hindoos who seem to have no prejudice of this kind, they are generally taught. The prohibition against women learning to read is probably from various causes, much less attended to in some Districts than in others and as it is possible that in every District a few females may be found in the reading schools, a column has been entered for them in the Form proposed to be sent to the Collectors. The mixed and impure castes seldom learn to read, but as a few of them do, columns are left for them in the Form (Dharampal, 83-4).

Munro was aware of the difficulties in obtaining these details with accuracy for the whole Presidency. But, his interest was not so much in such an extensive and accurate record as in an estimate of the state of education:

> There may be some difficulty in obtaining such a record as we want. Some districts will not -- but others probably will furnish it -- and if we get it only from two or three it will answer in some degree for all the rest. It cannot be expected to be very accurate, but it will at least enable us to form an estimate of the state of instructions among the people (Dharampal, 83).

Following his Minute, in July 1822 the Board of Revenue issued a circular to the Collectors to furnish in proforma, the number of schools and colleges and the number of scholars in each classified by sex and into Brahmins, Vaisyas, Sudras, 'other castes', and Muslims, along with the male, female and total population of each district, and other related details called for in the Minute. Contrary to Munro's expectations all the 21 collectorates of the Presidency furnished most of the required details. It is these details which comprise the educational enquiries of 1822-25.

3.2 <u>Elphinstone and Bombay enquiries</u>

The Bombay enquiries, ordered by the Presidency Governor Mountstuart Elphinstone, could be best explained in terms of his lengthy educational Minute. This Minute covered a wide range of issues on Indian education[10] that of it George Forrest rightly remarked that it combined "comprehensive and elevated views with so much circumspection and dignity, that it must ever be shown as a model of what a state paper ought to be" (Forrest, 65; for the full Minute, see Forrest, 79-116).

In paragraph 3 of this Minute Elphinstone wrote:

> I have attended, as far as was in my power since I have been in Bombay, to the means of promoting education among the natives, and from all that I have observed and learned by correspondence, I am perfectly convinced that without great assistance from Government, no progress can be made in that important undertaking (Forrest, 79).

But, as Elphinstone did not get much encouragement from either the home government or the Executive Council, he thought of at least encouraging the educational efforts of the Bombay Education Society.

Founded in 1815, mainly for the education of 'poor' European children, by its own account it was the first and only education society then in India solely supported by voluntary contributions (BPR, I, 3). The Bombay Provincial Committee's account of this Society indicates that even within a couple of years after it was founded it made good progress by extending its efforts beyond the island of Bombay and taking upon itself the encouragement of the education of Indian children as well:

> In the first five years of their existence the committee received nearly a lakh of rupees in benefactions and annual subscriptions, and they were also warmly supported by the National Society in England. Their operations extended beyond the island of Bombay. They opened schools at Thana and Surat; and at the end of 1820 their schools were attended by nearly 500 children. The society did not, however, confine its efforts to the instruction of European children. Native boys were encouraged to attend the schools at Surat and Thana, and at the beginning of 1820 four separate schools for natives had been opened in Bombay and were attended by nearly 250 pupils. The cost of these schools was defrayed partly from fees, and partly from the society's own funds, which had been raised by Church-collections, and by other voluntary subscriptions from the European community (BPR, I, 3).

In August 1820 this society took further measures to extend education of Indian children and appointed a committee to prepare school-books in the vernacular languages and to aid or establish vernacular schools. But as the scope of this undertaking was beyond its established objects of the education of 'poor' children, in 1822 this committee became a separate corporation, the Bombay Native School Book and School Society, with Elphinstone as its first

President, the chief justice, and the three members of the Executive Council of the Bombay Government as Vice-Presidents, and 12 Europeans and 12 Indians as the managing committee. Soon after this society was formed, it appointed a special committee to report on the state of education in the Presidency and to suggest means for its improvement and extension. The report submitted by this committee in 1823 pointed out the want of books, method, teachers, and funds as the main defects of the educational system prevailing at the time.

It was when this report reached Elphinstone that he wrote his Minute, with a view to giving a wider range to the discussion than was required by the report. In his Minute he also made it clear that as it was solely at his recommendation that the society prepared and submitted the report and sought government help he was bound to offer it every help (BPR, I, 2-5; Choksey, 374; Parulekar, xv-i; Varma, 235-6).

In paragraphs 43 and 44 of this Minute, Elphonstone stressed the need for the promotion of education:

> It is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring; and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this. We have all often heard of the ills of early marriages and overflowing population; of the savings of a life squandered on some one occasion of festivity; of the helplessness of the Rayats which renders them a prey to money-lenders; of their indifference to good clothes or houses, which has been urged on some occasions as an argument against lowering the public demands on them; and, finally, of the vanity of all laws to protect them when no individual can be found who has spirit enough to take advantage of those enacted in their favour. There is but one remedy for all this, which is education.

> If there be a wish to contribute to the abolition of the horrors of self-immolation, and of infanticide, and ultimately to the destruction of superstition in India, it is scarcely necessary now to prove that the only means of success lie in the diffusion of knowledge. (Forrest, 101)

In paragraph 7 he had already laid down the measures he envisaged:

> The following are the principal measures required for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives: 1st, to improve the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to increase the number of schools; 2nd, to supply them with school-books; 3rd, to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them; 4th, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education: 5th, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages; 6th, to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries; 7th, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of these last branches of knowledge (Forrest, 81).

In consideration of the adoption of these measures, in paragraph 17, he ordered the educational enquiries covering among other things the number of villages in each district and the number of schools in each the number of boys taught and the learning acquired at each school, and the classes who attended the schools.

> Inquiries relating to the possibility of providing salaries for teachers out of the Gram Kharch, or even by a small addition to that fund, and likewise regarding the possibility of diverting any of the religious or other Mahratha grants, in the manner before alluded to, should immediately be addressed to the collectors (those in the Deccan through the Commissioner), who may also be requested to send a statement, showing the villages in their district, and the number of schools in each, accompanied by such a general report on the state of schools as they may have the means of affording. They might,

> for instance, give a guess at the number of boys taught at each, the learning they acquire at each, and the particular classes who attend them, whether only those whose trade requires a knowledge of reading and writing, or others also. Their opinion should likewise be solicited as to the persons who could, with most advantage, be employed as school-masters, and as to any other expedients that may seem practicable for promoting the object at a small expense (Forrest, 86-87).

Following this Minute, James Farish, Secretary to the Bombay Government addressed to the several Collectors in the Presidency, and to the Judges of the Courts of Udalat at the district headquarters the several queries raised by Elphinstone. The returns from these officials constitute the educational enquiries of 1824-25.

3.3 Bentinck and Bengal enquiries

Although the Bengal enquiries were intended to serve the same purpose as of the Madras and Bombay enquiries, the former had greater significance: For one thing, they were ordered by a Governor-General known for some of the most controversial and far reaching social reform measures ever undertaken in India such as the abolition of Sati, and Thuggee, and perhaps even more, for his resolution of March 7, 1835 that "the great object of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone" -- a resolution which settled the prolonged controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists.[11] For another, unlike the Madras and Bombay enquiries, these were conducted by a specially appointed commissioner. (Dibona, 8-9; Duff, 301-306; Trevelyan, 13).

These enquiries were intended "to know with all attainable accuracy, the state of instruction in native institutions and in native society", and be a first step towards the introduction of what was considered an "improved and comprehensive system of national education" (Duff, 305). For conducting them, in January 1835 Bentinck appointed Adam at his own suggestion (Hartog, 1939, 13), placing him under the orders of the General Committee of Public Instruction.

Following the instructions of this Committee, Adam submitted three reports, which as Hartog characterised them were 'more celebrated than known' (Hartog, 1939, 13). While these three reports together constitute the enquiries of 1835-38, only the second the third were based on field investigation.[12]

4 NATURE OF INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS

We mentioned earlier that this part of the study is intended to be an account of the nature and extent of indigenous education in early 19th century as a backdrop to our subsequent analysis of the caste-discriminations. But, as the nature and extent of indigenous education had indigenous schools as their background, an account of the former should be preceded by that of the latter. Accordingly, in this section we shall try to understand the nature of indigenous schools in terms of their habitat, maintenance, membership, and functioning.

4.1 Absence of mural dimension

Unlike educational institutions established after the European pattern, the indigenous schools cannot be conceived of as physical entities of relatively large, solid, and permanent school-buildings and paraphernalia. Devoid of this mural dimension, what passed for an indigenous school was an assembly of a few pupils receiving instruction together from a teacher[13] at places which varied widely over space and time. Although schools of all the three types, viz. Vernacular, Arabic and Persian, and Sanskrit, were generally of this description, we shall try to understand the places used in each type separately.

In his famous Oriental Memoirs, James Forbes gave a brief account of the places used for vernacular instruction in the late 18th century 'Hindostan':

> Nothing can be more simple than a Hindoo school; which is usually under a thatched shed open on three sides, with a sanded floor, on which the boys learn to write, and go through the first rules of arithmetic, in which science some of them make a great progress (Forbes, I, 55).

This account may give the impression that Vernacular schools were generally held at least in thatched sheds; whereas most of them did not have even such sheds, and a variety of places were used as schools. Leitner gave a general account of the places used as schools in Punjab:

> The larger proportion of schools were,...held in the houses of the most liberal patron, or were invested with a religious or popular sanction by being attached to, or held in, temples, the enclosures to the huts of Fakirs and in the Chaupals or Village Halls (Leitner, I, 19).

Of the Madras returns the Canara return mentioned that education was conducted in the house of the 'principal man' (Dharampal, 88). The other returns do not contain references to the places of Vernacular instruction. But, in the evidence before the Madras Provincial Committee, two of the witnesses mentioned that schools were held on 'Pials', by the side of houses. Of them one also stated that schools were also held under trees or other places exposed to the public view. A third witness stated that in Malabar schools were held in mere open sheds, such as had been used for centuries (MPR, Evidence, 21, 91, 172). In his account of Indian education, Fra Paolonia Da Bartolomeo, an 18th century Austrian also mentioned that in Malabar schools were held in gardens and sacred enclosures (Dharampal, 252).

Of the Bombay returns, Jervis' return on South Concan mentioned that of the 86 Vernacular schools in that district, 58 were held in houses, including a few in sheds such as of barber, oil-presser, and potter, and 28 in temples (Parulekar, 22-49). The remaining returns do not contain references to places of Vernacular instruction. But, in his account of education in late 18th century Gujarat, Forbes mentioned that the schools were generally held in open air on the shady side of houses:

> Those towns on the banks of the Nerbudda, so famous for Brahmin seminaries, contain numerous schools for the education of other boys: these are generally in the open air, on the shady side of the house. The scholars sit on mats, or cow-dung floors, and, are taught as much of religion as their caste admits of; as well as reading, writing and arithmetic; the two latter by making letters and figures in sand upon the floor, which I have before observed is the oriental manner of instruction (Forbes, II, 99).

As in Madras and Bombay Presidencies, in the great majority of instances Vernacular schools in Bengal also did not have school-houses. Of the places used as school-houses Adam wrote in the context of Nattore:

> There are no school-houses built for and exclusively appropriated to these schools. The apartments or buildings in which the scholars assemble would have been erected, and would continue to be applied to other purposes, if there were no schools. Some meet in the <u>Chandi Mandap</u>, which is of the nature of a chapel belonging to some one of the principal families in the village, and in which, besides the performance of religious worship on occasion of the great annual festivals, strangers also are sometimes lodged and entertained, and business transacted; others in the <u>Baithakkhana</u>, an open but principally intended as a place of recreation and of concourse for the consideration of any matters relating to the general interests of the village; others in the private dwelling of the chief supporter of the school; and others have no special place of meeting, unless it be the most vacant and protected spot in the neighbourhood of the master's abode... (Some schools meet) in the open air in the dry seasons of the year; and in the rainy season those boys whose parents can afford it erect each for himself a small shed of grass and leaves, open at the sides and barely adequate at the top to cover one person from the rain.... (And) those who had no protection, if it rained, must either have been dispersed or remained exposed to the storm (Dibona, 53).

To these must be added other places mentioned by Adam in his second and third reports such as the corner of a shop, the village temple, more particularly that consecrated

to Yama, the judge of the departed, the Minos of Hinduism, an out-house of one of the parents, the veranda of a house, and the shade of a tree. In a few instances the schools had separate school-houses. These, however, cannot be construed as anything comparable to the modern school-buildings. Summing up Adam's observations on the school-houses, Duff wrote:

> The school-house, where there happens to be one, is sometimes built at the expense of the teacher; sometimes at the expense of some comparatively wealthy person whose son attends school; sometimes by general subscription, the teacher contributing a little, the scholars aiding by their labour in bringing material from the jungle, and some benevolent person granting a donation of land, of money, or of materials. Such a house is always thatched -- the walls consisting of mud, or of branches and leaves of the palm and sal tree interleaved. And of so humble a description is it, that, in addition to the personal labour of the pupils, it is erected at a cost averaging from Rs.1-4 to 10 (Duff, 317).

Of Muhammadan schools, the Canara return mentioned that the Mullah instructed the Muhammadan children in the same manner as did the 'principal man' among Hindus. (Dharampal, 88) Presumably instruction was given in a house or in the mosque. The other Madras returns do not refer to places of instruction among Muhammadans either.

The Arabic college at Surat described in the return of the Surat Judge was attended by about 125 students. In it classes were held in separate class-rooms, and the college had lodging facilities (Parulekar, 67). But for this information, the Bombay returns also do not refer to places of Muhammadan instruction.

Adam's reports reveal that as in the case of Vernacular schools, a variety of places were used for Arabic and Persian instruction. These were baithak-khanas, chandi-mandaps,

dwelling-houses, garden-houses, imambarahs, kachharis, mosques, and out-houses. Although a few of these schools had separate school-houses they were mostly of the humble description of the Vernacular school-houses. (Dibona, 134-51, 244-5, 246, 248, 251, 254).

Of Sanskrit schools in 17th century Benares, Bernier wrote:

> The town of Benaras, seated on the Ganges, in a beautiful situation, and in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country, may be considered the general school of the Gentiles. It is the Athens of India, whither resort the Brahmens and other devotees; who are the only persons who apply their minds to study. The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy (Smith, 334).

As a centre of Sanskrit learning the places of instruction in Benares might have had special features, which Bernier tried to capture. But the places used in Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and to some extent even in Bengal Presidency were broadly of the type described by him.

The Madras returns indicate the general use of houses and temples as places of instruction. Thus, the remarks of the Cuddapah Sub-Collector:

> Theology, Law, Astronomy are taught it appears in a private manner for the most part in small families, and given as an inheritance from father to son. The instruction can only be attained by the party applying, either from the strongest interest or from relationship to those Brahmins who are qualified to afford it. Pupils under such circumstances appear to reside entirely under the roof of their preceptors and to form part of the family (Dharampal, 221).

The Guntoor Collector reported that since scholars could not generally get teachers in their respective villages, they were obliged to travel to other villages where they resided with the teachers, and that those desirous of 'deeper' studies travelled to places such as Navadwip and Benares where they remained for years taking instruction under learned Pandits (Dharampal, 206-7). The Masulipatam collector mentioned that in most of the towns, villages and hamlets the Brahmins were teaching their boys the Vedas and Sastras either in houses or in colleges, though he did not specify the latter (Dharampal, 158).

A memorandum enclosed to the Malabar return from the Zamorin Rajah about the only college in that district indicates that before the college building was constructed schools were held in temples:

> In the beginning the Brahmins of Malabar used to be instructed in Religion at the Chetrums (or Temples) nearest to their houses by the teachers of that time, but it was apprehended that learning after that manner would not be attended with advantage. A consultation was therefore held by the Brahmins, when it was determined that a College should be instituted for the purposes of instructing all persons in the principles of Religion. A spot of ground... was fixed upon for the proposed building and all of them waited on and reported the circumstance to our ancestor the then reigning Rajah who caused a College to be built at his expense on the spot pointed out by them, and ordered that all persons residing in it should be furnished with their daily meal and oil, and further, ordered a store house to be built and the appointment of a person to be in charge of the same (Dharampal, 202).

Apart from houses and temples, Mattams or Hindu monasteries were also used as places of Sanskrit instruction in Madras Presidency. This is evident from the report of the Madras Provincial Committee (MPR, 67).

Of the Bombay returns the Dharwar Collector reported the general use of houses as places of Sanskrit instruction:

> The Vaids, Shastrus and Pooranas are not taught at any of these (village) schools, such knowledge being confined to Brahmins who are engaged as private tutors or if the circumstances of parents do not allow it, they send their sons to serve some Waideika or other learned Brahmin who in return for such services gives them Instruction gratis (Parulekar, 138).

His report was probably based on a slightly more elaborate return from Padshapur taluk, the only taluk in the district to report on Sanskrit instruction:

> The Puntojees in this Talooka do not instruct their scholars in reading the Jayamonee, Cavee, etc. It is customary for youths to go and serve Pundits who understand the Shasters and thus they learn from them... Wealthy individuals engage private Tutors who are versed in Shasters at home and pay them annually from 50 to 200 rupees, proportioned to their abilities (Parulekar, 142).

The Poona Collector also reported the general use of houses:

> Many of those school-masters who teach Sanscrit and instruct their scholars in the learning and sciences in that language, would with more propriety be termed private tutors. It is the custom for a rich man to hire a tutor of this description, who usually resides with him for the instruction of his sons, -- but if they are not numerous enough, or if they are all... not of a proper age or capacity for receiving the instruction of the preceptor, both for the sake of emulation and from motives of religious charity, there are several intelligent youths of a poor neighbour's or friend's family invited to attend the daily course of lectures and instruction, gratis. Several heads of families also occasionally club their means to hire a good tutor for the common instruction of their sons (Parulekar, 135-6).

The Collector also made it clear that only the poor and less-gifted persons taught as tutors, whereas the better ones held schools gratis in their own houses:

> There are either men of rare ability and eminence in particular branches of learning, and in their circumstances above the necessity of taking a reward for their labours, or they are poor men of slender capacity and ability who are glad to trust to the gratitude of scholars, who, if they demanded a stipulated reward or salary would perhaps prefer paying a little higher for the superintendence of a better teacher, or would not learn at all. The great Shastrees who teach gratuitously hold their schools in their own houses. The poor ones where they can, in their own, or the house of the scholar they expected the greatest present from (Parulekar, 136).

The Bombay Provincial Committee reported that temples were also used for Sanskrit instruction (BPR, I, 70).

Unlike in Madras and Bombay Presidencies, a large number of Sanskrit schools in Bengal had separate school-houses. Of these school-houses Ward wrote:

> The name given to Hindoo colleges or schools is Chutooshpathee, which signifies the place where the four Shastrus are studied... These places are generally built of clay. Sometimes three rooms are erected, and in others eight or ten, in two side rows, with a reading room, open on all sides, at the farther end: this is also of clay...These miserable huts are frequently erected at the expence of the teacher, who not only solicits alms to raise the building, but also to feed his pupils. The buildings which contain seven or eight rooms cost seven or eight pounds sterling; the ground is commonly a gift, but in some cases rent is paid. In particular instances both the ground and the expences of the buildings are a voluntary gift; and there are not wanting cases of lands being bestowed on schools, and of persons appropriating a monthly sum to their support. At Nudeeya the last case is common (Ward, II, 485-6).

Adam reported that almost all the 24 Sanskrit schools in the city and district of Moorshedabad, majority of the 190 schools in Burdwan, and 37 schools in Nattore, and about half of the 27 schools in South Behar, had separate school-houses. As against these only two of the schools in Tirhoot and a few of the schools in Beerbhoom had such school houses. Wherever separate school houses existed they were built at the expense of the teachers themselves, or by benefactors, or by subscriptions. However, as Adam reported in the context of Nattore, these school-houses were mostly "huts with raised earthen floors...open either only on one side or on all sides according to the space which the owner (could) command for ingress and egress", and were generally of the humblest description. They were also often used for other purposes such as hospitality to strangers, and lodging of the scholars. Of the lodging of scholars Adam reported in the context of Nattore:

> The foreign students or those who have no home in the village are lodged and fed and pursue their studies at night either in the building erected for a school-room, in separate lodging apartments attached to it, or in the dwelling house of the teacher, the last mentioned course being adopted only when there is no other resource (Dibona, 79, 152-73, 226, 229, 233, 236, 238).

The teachers who had no separate school-houses held their schools in their own houses in Nattore and Tirhoot; in baithak-khanas or chandi-mandaps in Beerbhoom and Burdwan, and in thresholds, out-houses or temples in South Behar (Dibona, 152-73, 229, 233, 236, 238).

4.1.1 Implications of the absence of mural dimension

Absence of proper school-houses might have been for various reasons, and might have had far reaching implications for the state and progress of education. Attributing

it to the ignorance of Hindus, Ward viewed it as a major defect of indigenous Indian education:

> These college-sleeping rooms, and the college hall, would greatly surprise an English academician; but the Hindoos have yet to learn, that splendid edifices and large endowments are essential to learning (Ward, II, 486).

Ward's explanation, however, does not seem to be convincing. For, though not for educational purposes, Hindus have had a penchant for pomp and splendour in their edifices as it is only too obvious from the various monuments.

Adam also viewed "the want of school-houses and ... the confined and inappropriate construction of the buildings or apartments used as school-rooms" as disadvantageous. But, he attributed these more to poverty than to ignorance:

> It is evident that the general efficiency and regularity of school-houses, which are promoted by the adaptation of the school-room to the enjoyment of comfort by the scholars, to full inspection on the part of the teacher, and to easy communication on all sides, must here be in a great measure unknown... Poverty still more than ignorance leads to the adoption of modes of instruction and economical arrangements which, under more favourable circumstances, would be readily abandoned (Dibona, 53, 57).

This poverty-theory also does not seem to be convincing. For, throughout its history indigenous education was mostly imparted in various convenient and easily accessible places and not in separate school-houses. By Adam's reckoning this should mean that India had been poor at least ever since its beginning of formal education. But, if India were so poor as to deprive its children of proper places of instruction, it would not have lavished its resources on temples and such other monstrous structures.

Unlike Ward and Adam, Leitner viewed the absence of proper school-houses as a positive dimension of indigenous education, and complimented the Hindu legislators:

> As for the places of instruction, whether in towns or villages, the great object of the Hindu legislator of bringing teacher and pupils into personal relations of respect on the one side and of affection on the other was everywhere carried out to the minute details, which seemed to anticipate every possible circumstance (Leitner, I, 19).

Leitner's explanation, however, is only in keeping with his obscurantism. No doubt, the absence of proper school-houses was a survival of the Vedic system of education, which, as we noted earlier, was characterised by domestic schools, and in which in keeping with its underlying caste and religious prejudices the places banned for study were not the expedients mentioned earlier, but, "a burrial ground, extremity of a village, a high road, a village in which a corpse lies or Chandalas live, or a forest if a corpse or a Chandala is in sight" (Mookerji, 194).

But, the great object of the legislators might not have been what Leitner would have us believe. If anything, the object might have been to keep the educational system unobtrusive, lest the rise of large buildings and edifices should attract the excluded and suppressed groups to the educational system and arouse their assertiveness and aspirations for participation in it. In this connection we should also bear in mind that throughout India's history its rulers considered education only as the need of a chosen few and not of society at large. This will be more clear to us from the nature of patronage extended to education.

4.2 Discriminatory patronage

It is a truism that pre-British Indian society did not recognise the right of every child to receive at least the rudiments of schooling. In such a situation it is only to

be expected that the state of education would have fluctuated over space and time, depending on the literary tastes of the rulers. For, as Narendranath Law rightly pointed out in another context, since "the sovereign was the largest fountain from which the educational institutions, professors and literary men drew a very large portion of their sustenance", any change in his literary taste resulted in a corresponding change in the prevailing literary atmosphere:

> If the Emperor were of literary tastes and encouraged the cause of education and learning, we find his Court a bee-hive of literary men, poets, philosophers and scientists, giving a great impetus to the literary life of the day. We find noblemen imitating him, and lavishing endowment after endowment upon schools, colleges, and distinguished literary men, for their support and encouragement. On the other hand, if the Emperor were devoid of literary tastes and addicted to low pleasures and licentiousness, there was a corresponding set-back in learning. We find his Court deserted by the literati, and learning languished as a rule (Law, xlvi-ii).

If the state of education so precariously hinged on the sovereign, we may wonder how indigenous education survived as an institution from the earliest times well into the late 19th century. The following observations of the Education Commission broadly explain this survival:

> The Hindu law enjoined it as a religious duty on the Brahman that he should teach; and, in order that his undivided attention might be devoted to education, the sacred obligation of making provision for his temporal wants was imposed both on the sovereign and on the community... Religious endowments were a meritorious act, and as noticed in the Despatch of 1854[14], "munificent bequests have not unfrequently been made for the permanent endowment of educational institutions" (ECR, 58).

Implied in these observations are the inseparableness of the institution of indigenous education from the Hindu religion, and the centrality of Brahmins to both -- an

inseparableness to which we already made some references in Section 2. It is the resulting complementarity which ensured the survival of the institution by providing it at least the minimum patronage needed for its existence and persistence irrespective of the fluctuations in the state of education depending on the literary tastes of the rulers. Such patronage was, however, not diffused, but concentrated on the Sanskrit schools.

That Sanskrit schools in general enjoyed great patronage can be inferred from the observation of Ward that "the Hindoo kings... supported great multitudes of bramhuns, and patronized them in the pursuit of learning" (Ward, I, 85-6); of Buchanan on the fall of the Brahmins and the distinction between Vaidikas and Lokikas; of Bernier that rich merchants in Benares permitted teachers to occupy gardens of the suburbs, and supplied the students their "kichery, a mingled mess of vegetables" (Smith, 334); and of Leitner that "the efforts of both wealthy individuals and of communities (were) directed towards the emancipation of all teachers, especially those of religion from worldly cares" (Leitner, I, 19). It is, however, only the educational returns which indicate that such patronage was almost to the total exclusion of the Vernacular, and the Arabic and Persian schools.

The Madras returns indicate that all that passed for patronage to Vernacular schools was the maintenance of 44 of the 884 schools in Tanjore by the Tanjore Rajah; and to Arabic and Persian schools were the annual allowance from land and in money of Rs. 1861 received by 6 of the 40 schools in North Arcot; Rs. 1116 by 11 of the 50 schools in Nellore; and Rs. 20 received by one of the Muslim teachers in Salem (Dharampal, 116-7, 141, 156, 204, 228-9).

As against these, the patronage to Sanskrit schools consisted of between 44 and 47 'Cawnies' of land endowed on 7 of the 9 schools in Trichinopoly; the annual allowances in money received by 13 of the 279 schools in Rajamundry; annual allowances in land received by another 69 schools in Rajamundry, by a college in Malabar, by 22 of the 69 schools in North Arcot; by an unspecified number of schools in Coimbatore; by 15 of the 106 schools in Nellore; and by 20 of the 53 schools in Salem, and the maintenance of the Zamorin's college in Malabar by the Zamorin Rajah and of 71 of the 109 schools in Tanjore by the Tanjore Rajah. The returns also indicate that the allowances received was Rs.522 by the 22 North Arcot schools, Rs. 2208 by the Coimbatore schools; Rs. 351 by the 15 Nellore schools, and Rs. 1109 by the 20 Salem schools and that the Malabar College was maintained at an annual expense of Rs. 2200 (Dharampal, 107, 118-24, 138-9, 156, 167, 191, 203-4).

In the remaining districts also there were land-grants to Sanskrit schools, though the returns contain only brief references. For instance, in some villages in Chingleput there were "trifling mauniums, from a quarter of a Cawney to two Cawnies of land"; in nearly all villages in Cuddapah an Inam land-grant was set apart for a 'Punchangum Brahmin'; in Guntoor the Brahmins who taught the Hindu sciences were generally maintained by maniams; in agraharam villages in Madurai there were maniams yielding from 20 to 50, and in some cases upto 100 fanams a year and finally, in Masulipatam there were land-grants such as maniams held by some of the teachers and students (Dharampal, 108-9, 144, 158, 206, 222).

The Bellary Collector contended that in pre-British times Sanskrit learning enjoyed generous patronage from the rulers and recorded his impressions as follows:

> There is no doubt that in former times, especially under the Hindoo Governments very large grants, both in money, and in land, were issued for the support of learning. Considerable Yeomiahs, or grants of money, now paid to Brahmins from my treasury, and many of the numerous and valuable Shotrium Villages, now in the enjoyment of Brahmins in this district, who receive one fourth, one third, one half, two thirds, and sometimes the whole, of their annual revenue,may, I think, be traced to this source. Though it did not consist with the dignity of learning to receive from her votaries hire; it has always in India been deemed the duty of Government to evince to her the highest respect, and to grant to her those emoluments, which she could not, consistently with her character receive from other sources; the grants issued by former Governments, on such occasions, contained, therefore, no unbecoming stipulations or conditions. They all purport to flow from the free bounty of the ruling power, merely to aid the maintenance of some holy or learned man, or to secure his prayers for the state. But they were almost universally granted to learned or religious persons who maintained a school for one or more of the sciences, and taught therein gratuitously; and though not expressed in the deed itself, the duty of continuing such gratuitous instruction was certainly implied in all such grants (Dharampal, 184).

Of the Bombay returns only the Surat Collectorate return mentioned any patronage to the Vernacular schools, that too of a small sum of Rs. 135 a year from service-lands (Parulekar, 64); while none of the returns reported of any patronage to the Arabic and Persian schools.

Although the returns did not refer to patronage to Sanskrit schools either, Elphinstone's Educational Minute mentioned earlier reveals an abundance of it. In paragraph 60, he wrote:

> One of the principal objects of the Peshwa's Government was the maintenance of the Brahmins. It is known to the Honourable Court that he annually distributed five lacs of rupees among that order under the name of the

> Dakshina; but it must be observed that the Dakshina formed but a small portion of his largesses to Brahmins, and the number of persons devoted to Hindu learning and religion, who were supported by him, exceeded what would readily be supposed.

In paragraph 63 Elphinstone reiterated that the Dakshina fund was only for the promotion of learning among Brahmins:

> The Dakshina, which has already been mentioned, was expressly designed to encourage learning: it formerly amounted to eight or ten lacs of rupees, and though Bajee Row reduced the expenses, he still gave a small sum to each of 50,000 Brahmins, besides large prizes to all who distinguished themselves by their learning. Both he and all his sirdars and ministers employed many learned Brahmins in various offices connected with the Hindu ritual; and all, on a religious principle, allowed stipends and grants of land to many others for whose services they had no call (Forrest, 106-7, 109).

Apart from the regular patronage to Brahmins, there were frequent bounties by the rulers, which might have also had an effect on education. Forbes recounted an interesting instance:

> The celebrated Sevajee, in the seventeenth century, on the day when he assumed the Mahratta sovereignty, was publicly weighed against gold; his weight was equal to that of sixteen thousand pagodas; which, with a hundred thousand more, were distributed among the Brahmins (Forbes, I, 240).

As in the case of Madras and Bombay, in Bengal also the patronage to the Vernacular, and the Arabic and Persian schools was too insignificant, whereas that to Sanskrit schools was inconsiderably great.

This is evident from Adam's reports. While not mentioning any patronage to the Vernacular schools, Adam mentioned

only two Persian schools under any patronage in the whole of the six districts investigated by him (Dibona, 248). As against this he reported that in earlier times Sanskrit schools enjoyed considerable patronage through endowments, though most of such endowments had been discontinued by the time of his investigation. Of such discontinued endowments those he came to know were of the total yearly value of Rs.390 in Nattore, one of Rs.60, another of Rs.90, and two of Rs.120 each; of about Rs.8,000 to Rs.10,000 in Moorshedabad, distributed among more than thirty persons; and of about Rs.100 in Beerbhoom. However, he also came to know several endowments which were being continued: two in Nattore, one of the yearly value of Rs.8, and another of Rs.60; one in Moorshedabad of ten bighas of land, yielding about Rs.10 a year; three in Beerbhoom, consisting two of 25 bighas of land each, and one of 50 bighas of land; two in Burdwan, one of about 8 and another of about 10 bighas of land, the former yielding about Rs.10, and the latter Rs.15 a year; six in South Behar, varying from 5 to 150 bighas of land, of the value of Re.1 to Rs.150 per bigha; and nine in Tirhoot, with four together yielding Rs.535, and 5 together yielding Rs.297 a year. Adam also came across the receipt of an yearly pension of Rs.5 by one teacher and Rs.50 by another; and of monthly allowances by two teachers from the Rajah of Burdwan (Dibona, 74, 75, 224-5, 228, 230-1, 235, 238).

The concentration of patronage on Sanskrit schools to the almost total exclusion of the other schools itself is sufficient proof of the discriminatory basis of indigenous education. This concentration had differential effects on the economics of education in the three types of schools, as we shall see presently.

4.3 Economics of education

As a result of the lack of patronage, teachers of most of the Vernacular, and the Arabic and Persian schools were forced to depend on income from teaching for their maintenance and for the maintenance of their schools.[15] This income varied among the different teachers over space and time, depending on variations in the nature and amount of the tuition fees. The variations in the latter were due to various factors such as size of the schools, nature and purpose of instruction given, and circumstances of the teachers and the parents.

Of the Madras returns only four indicate the tuition fees in the Vernacular, and the Arabic and Persian schools separately: The fees were "a small sum (and) a present of cloth at particular ceremonies" in both types of schools in Canara; one-fourth of a rupee to two rupees a month in the Vernacular, and one-fourth of a rupee to one rupee a month in the Arabic and Persian schools in Masulipatam; one anna three pice[16] to one rupee twelve annas a month in the Vernacular, and two annas 6 pice to two rupees a month in the Arabic and Persian schools in North Arcot; and less than three rupees a year in the Vernacular, and 15 to 20 rupees a year in the Arabic and Persian schools in Salem (Dharampal, 88, 140-1, 158, 204).

Seven of the returns merely indicate the amount of fees in schools in general without reference to other details: The fees were 4 annas to one rupee a month in Ganjum; not exceeding 12 Pagodas a year, that is Rs. 3.5 a month in Madras; two annas to one rupee, averaging to 7 annas a month in Rajamundry; and one anna to one rupee a month in Vizagpatam; and an average of 5 annas a month in Seringapatam, 4 D fanams a month in Tanjore, and 7 Pagodas a year or Rs. 2 a month in Trichinopoly (Dharampal, 94, 113, 117, 167, 175, 190, 212).

The fees however, varied according to stages of instruction and circumstances of parents. Of variations according to stages of instruction, the remarks in the Bellary return:

> While learning the first rudiments, it is common for the scholar to pay to the teacher a quarter of a rupee, and when arrived as far as to write on paper, or at the higher branches of arithmetic, half a rupee per mensem. But in proceeding further such as explaining books, which are all written in verse giving the meaning of Sanskrit words, and illustrating the principles of the vernacular languages, such demands are made as exceed the means of most parents (Dharampal, 182).

The Cuddapah return reported similar variations:

> (The) expense varies according to the progress made by the scholar and becomes higher at each stage from reading to writing and arithmetic -- the allowance is of course smallest at first and is augmented as the pupil acquires information; the average for the lowest class is about ¼ rupee per month for each scholar and increases as high as 1 and 1½ but rarely exceeds it (Dharampal, 221).

The Nellore return also reported such variations:

> The school master is paid from 2 annas to 4 rupees monthly for each scholar, and besides ...each scholar gives him about one seer of rice once every fortnight, at the new and full moons. They also pay him some presents when they are first put in the school, and after they finish the reading of any of their introductory books, such as Baularamayanum, Amarum, etc., and also pay a present to him when they complete their education and leave the school (Dharampal, 152).

The variations in payment according to the circumstances of the parents were indicated by the remarks in the return of Coimbatore that "the annual stipend from one pupil varies from Rs. 14 to Rs. 3... according to the circumstances of the parents"; of Guntoor that "the charge to the scholars chiefly depends

on the circumstances of the fathers or persons who put them to school and is found to vary from 2 annas to 2 rupees per mensem for each boy"; of Madura that "the teachers are paid by the poorer classes of people from ½ to 1 fanam for each scholar per month, and from 2 to 3 and 5 fanams by those in better circumstances"; of Malabar that "the school masters receive monthly from each scholar from one quarter to four rupees, according to their respective means, independent of some remuneration when a scholar leaves the school"; and of South Arcot that "the payment made for each scholar is from 1 fanam to one pagoda per month according to the condition and circumstances of their parents" (Dharampal, 100, 108, 145, 199, 206).

That payment of the fees was in cash, kind, or both, is already evident from the Canara, Malabar, and Nellore returns. This is also indicated by the remarks in the Coimbatore return that "besides their regular stipends, school masters generally receive presents from the parents of their pupils, at the Dassarah and other great feasts; a fee is also given when the pupil begins a new book." (Dharampal, 100).

Of the rates of fees thus reported in the several returns Dent, Secretary to Board of Revenue wrote:

> It will be observed that the schools now existing in the country are for the most part supported by the payments of the people who send their children to them for instruction. The rate of payment for each scholar varies in different districts and according to the different circumstances of the parents of the pupils, from 1 anna to 4 rupees per mensem, the ordinary rate among the poorer classes appears to be generally about 4 annas, and seldom to exceed ½ rupee (Dharampal, 228).

A few of the returns mentioned the monthly income of the teachers from fees and perquisites: It varied between 3½ and 12 rupees, averaging no more than 7 rupees, in

Chingleput; between 30 and 60 'Cully' fanams in large villages and 10 and 30 fanams in small villages in Madura; 3 rupees 1 anna 6 pice in the Vernacular, and 3 rupees 13 annas 6 pice in the Arabic and Persian schools in North Arcot; and 4 rupees 12 annas in Seringapatam (Dharampal, 94, 108, 140-1, 144).

Although the remaining Madras returns did not mention the income of the teachers the return of the Madras Provincial Committee indicates that throughout its survival indigenous education was expensive in elementary schools: From Table 1 we get a general idea of the income of the teachers, and the parents' contribution to it in the several districts of the Presidency. The details in all but column 7 are as given in the report. The details in column 7 are tabulated from the other columns. As may be seen from the Table the average income of the teachers in late 19th century was 4 rupees 8 annas, towards which the contribution of the pupils was 3 rupees, 8 annas. The Committee was not clear about the source of the unaccounted rupee (MPR, 71).

Of the Bombay returns, the Poona Collectorate return reported the monthly fees as between 2 and 8 annas in the Marathi, 4 and 8 annas in the Telugu and Gujarati and between 1 rupee and 5 rupees in the Persian schools. The remaining returns do not indicate the fees in the Vernacular, and in the Arabic and Persian schools separately. Some of them, however, show that as in Madras the fees were generally in cash, kind or both. The fees so given were usually about 1 anna to 1 rupee a month in Dharwar, along with meals given as often as the teachers called on the parents, and 'trifling presents' on particular days; about 75 Reas or 3 annas a month in Khandesh, in addition to periodical payments in grain, and other occasional gratuities and about 137 Reas in South Concan, accounted for by "2 neetwas of rice per month, and the

Table 1: Monthly emoluments of teachers and tuition fees from students in indigenous elementary schools in Madras Presidency, 1882

Sl. no.	District	No. of teachers	Approximate no. of students	Average emoluments of teachers			Average contribution from students			Average tuition fees		
				Rs.	As	Ps	Rs.	As	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
1	2	3	4		5			6			7	
1	Arcot, North	599	13863	4	0	0	3	8	0	0	2	5
2	Arcot, South	1156	19401	3	14	0	3	12	0	0	3	7
3	Bellary	267	4802	3	10	0	3	2	0	0	2	9
4	Canara, South	169	4119	1	2	0	1	6	0	0	0	11
5	Chingleput	653	12050	3	14	0	2	8	0	0	2	4
6	Coimbatore	646	11158	4	8	0	3	12	0	0	3	6
7	Cuddapah	168	2892	4	10	0	4	0	0	0	3	9
8	Ganjam	929	12153	6	8	0	3	10	0	0	4	5
9	Godavari	730	16027	6	4	0	4	12	0	0	3	6
10	Kistna	410	7790	3	4	0	2	14	0	0	2	5
11	Kurnool	74	1305	4	14	0	4	4	0	0	3	10
12	Madras	176	4466	5	8	0	5	8	0	0	3	6
13	Madura	987	20396	2	2	0	1	8	0	0	1	2
14	Malabar	710	25683	3	6	0	3	4	0	0	1	5
15	Nellore	161	2389	4	2	0	3	14	0	0	4	2
16	Nilgiri	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
17	Salem	615	8861	5	2	0	5	6	0	0	6	0
18	Tanjore	1445	27046	5	10	0	4	0	0	0	3	5
19	Tinnevelly	959	22714	4	2	0	3	10	0	0	2	7
20	Trichinopoly	429	9845	4	0	0	3	8	0	0	2	5
21	Vizagpatam	621	12172	6	4	0	4	12	0	0	3	11
	Total	11904	239132	4	8	0	3	8	0	0	2	10

Note: Of the northern and southern divisions of Canara, the northern division with the exception of Kundapur was included in the Bombay Presidency on 15-4-1863, and Kundapur was merged with South Canara. Until 1859-60 Godavary was called Rajamundry. In 1859-60 the former districts of Masulipatam and Guntur were united into Kistna district (Report of the Census of the Madras Presidency, 1871).

NA : Not available

Source: Education Commission, Report of the Madras Provincial Committee, page 70.

Shewaree pice (2 pice)... on every great Hindoo holiday" (Parulekar, 52, 104, 138, 153).

The remarks of the Ahmedabad Collector indicate that the fees were also according to the stage of instruction:

> The manner of remunerating the teachers is exceedingly various, and almost every village has a mode peculiar to itself; the more general one, however, appears to be, a daily allowance of flour, about, an eight of a seer, or a handful, from each boy, and a small sum of money from 1 to 5 rupees upon his leaving school. It is also usual in most schools for the parents of the boy to pay a small sum, in general about a rupee and a half, on their son being perfect in the first 15 Lessons; upon his acquiring a perfect knowledge of the Alphabet, a similar sum is paid, as also when he is able to write to cast up accounts and to draw out bills of exchange (Parulekar, 83).

The remarks of the Broach Collector also indicate this practice:

> On a boy commencing his education two quarters of a rupee are given to the Teacher. On a boy commencing to learn the formation of letters on a Thalle (... a copper plate inverted for the purpose) one rupee is given to the Teacher. The scholar besides these payments daily presents the Teacher with one quarter of 8 seer of grain. When a boy becomes perfect in reading and writing and is dismissed by his Tutor, a present of from two to five rupees is made to the Tutor. ...But children being the offspring of priests are exempt from payment (Parulekar, 71).

The remarks of the Kaira Collector indicate that the fees were according to both stage of instruction and circumstances of parents:

> The boys he teaches daily present him with a handful of grain (moottee), seldom exceeding quarter of a seer, at the evening's lesson, and when they finally leave the school, they make him a present of two or three rupees. Boys of respectable families, also

> sometimes give him half a rupee on first entering the school, and on days of ceremony send him a meal of grain, ghee etc. The boys often beg something for their master from strangers of rank visiting the village, but these sources of emolument, with the exception of the two first, are very trifling, and the whole seldom amount to more than a mere subsistence (Parulekar, 76).

Based on the nature and rates of fees reported in the several returns, Farish reported that the most customary mode of payment in Bombay Presidency was a daily present of grain, and a small sum of money on advancing to different branches of instruction and on leaving the school (Parulekar, 158). Although this was the general mode of payment, his report does not explain the wide variations in the payments, in cash and kind. Of the cash payments, the Bombay Provincial Committee wrote:

> The tuition fees charged in indigenous schools vary considerably, not only in each district, but in almost every town or village. So far as there is any fixed scale; it appears to range from 6 pies upto Rs. 2 per mensem... The average rate paid in a village school is probably not more than 4 annas; while in urban schools it is somewhat higher (BPR, I, 75).

The Committee pointed out that the above rate was exclusive of payments in kind, and that these payments were often considerable. Of such payments, and of the full import of the cash payments as well, we get a general idea from its subsequent observations:

> The master sometimes receives all his emoluments in kind instead of in cash, but more frequently in both, forms... In some villages in lieu of fees he receives a fixed annual income from the villagers, or if a Muhammadan from the mosque-funds. It is also a common practice for the master to agree to instruct a pupil in certain subjects within a given time for a lump payment, which is sometimes as much as Rs. 100, We have already referred

> to the presents which some masters receive at the time of Patipuja, or the slate-ceremony (of which more shortly). It is also not uncommon for the master to receive a present in money, clothes, or grain, when a pupil begins to learn his multiplication-tables, and again when he begins the alphabet; and similar presents are made on the occasion of the boy's marriage and thread-ceremonies. In most mosque schools it is a standing rule that each pupil should pay the master one pice and a cake of bread every Thursday, though this rule is often modified so as to enable the master to receive the bread by daily instalments (BPR, I, 75).

Of the income which the teachers so derived, the Committee wrote:

> On the whole it is estimated that the master of a rural school seldom receives more than Rs.8, and in the smaller villages more than Rs.5 per mensem in money and kind, and that in urban schools a master receives on the average about twice the latter sum; while in the largest schools his monthly income is in some instances as much as Rs.50 (BPR, I, 75).

The educational returns indicate that the average monthly income of the teachers was much the same even about half a century before: It was about Rs.5 in Ahmedabad, Rs.3 in Ahmednagar, Rs.4.5 in Dharwar, Rs.3 to 12 in Kaira, Rs.2 in Dhandesh, Rs.5 to 7 in Surat, and Rs.4 to 6 in South Concan (Parulekar, 52, 64, 76, 86-7, 104, 122, 138).

As in the case of Madras and Bombay Presidencies, the general mode of payment in Bengal Presidency was according to stage of instruction. This is evident from Adam's observations in the context of Nattore; that of the four stages of gradations of instruction in Vernacular schools indicated by the nature of the material employed for writing on, viz., the ground, the palm-leaf, the plantain-leaf, and paper, a higher rate of fees was charged at the commencement of each stage after the first. The monthly rate he found in Nattore was 1 anna at the first stage, 2 annas at the second,

3 annas at the third, and 4 annas at the fourth. There were, however, exceptions. For he found that in one instance the first, second, and third stages were combined, in another instance the same rate of fee was charged for third and fourth; and in a third, the first, second, and third stages were equally charged. Despite these exceptions, Adam felt that the rule was observed in a majority of cases, and partially even in those exceptions. Another mode which he observed in Nattore was according to the means of the parents whose children were instructed. In two instances he noticed that poor children were charged a half, a third, or a fourth less than the rich in the successive stages of instruction (Dibona, 51).

The payment was either in cash with or without perquisites, or in perquisites alone. Of the perquisites, Adam wrote in the context of Nattore:

> The perquisites of the teachers vary from four annas to five rupees a month; in the former case consisting of a piece of cloth or other occasional voluntary gift from the parents; and in the latter or in similar cases, of food alone, or of food, washing, and all personal expenses, together with occasional presents. Those who receive food as a perquisite either live in the house of one of the principal supporters of the school, or visit the houses of the different parents by turns at meal-times (Dibona, 51).

Adam found that in majority of the Arabic and Persian schools there was no regular fee, that in some cases the teachers were paid in the form of fixed monthly wages or allowances, with perquisites by one, two, or three families, and that in some other cases instruction was free as a charitable act. The families which paid the fixed wages were the principal supporters of the school whose main object was the instruction of their own children. In the few cases where fee was paid, the rates were 2 annas, 4 annas, 8 annas, or one rupee a month, depending on the books in which instruction was given (Dibona, 59, 134-51).

Of fees in the two types of schools in Bengal Presidency in general, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote:

> Pathsala pupils pay monthly fees varying from half an anna to eight annas each; sometimes fees are paid in kind only. The guru also gets presents of food and clothing on occasions of marriage or other ceremonies, as well as when a boy is promoted from a lower to a higher standard of study.
>
> At muktabs, the pupils pay fees in cash and also in kind. They also pay a pice each on Thursdays and on Muhammadan festivals. The teachers generally board and lodge in the houses of well-to-do Muhammadan gentlemen. (BPR, 71).

Although Adam did not discuss the rate of fees or amount of perquisites per scholar in the remaining districts of his survey, he gave a break-up of the teachers in the two types of schools in each district according to their remuneration from different sources. These details, as tabulated in Table 2, clearly indicate that fees, with or without perquisites were the main source of income for most of the teachers in both types of schools, and that the amount of income was much the same as in the other two Presidencies.

In striking contrast to the practice in the Vernacular and the Arabic and Persian schools, instruction in virtually all the Sanskrit schools was gratuitous, often along with free board and lodging of the students.

Several of the Madras returns indicate this. Thus, the remarks in the return of Bellary that "lessons in Theology, Astronomy, Logic, and Law, continue to be given gratuitously, as of old..."; of Cuddapah that "amongst Brahmins, instruction is in many places gratuitously afforded -- and the poorer classes obtain all their education in this way"; of Guntoor that astrology, law, theology, etc. "are privately taught to some scholars or disciples generally by the Brahmins learned

Table 2: Total and average monthly emoluments of teachers by type of schools, Bengal Presidency, 1835-38

Sl. No.	District	No. of teachers receiving				Monthly emoluments											
		NE	Fees	Wages	Total	From fees			From wages			Total			Average		
						Rs.	As	Ps	Rs.	As	Ps	Rs.	As	Ps	Rs.	As	Ps
1	2	3	4	5	6	7			8			9			10		
1	Beerbhoom																
	Vernacular	11	396	5	401	1282	14	9	14	6	0	1297	4	9	3	3	9
	Arabic & Persian	7	60	6	73	367	8	6	43	12	0	411	4	6	6	3	8
2	Behar, South																
	Vernacular	-	280	5	285	571	15	3	14	3	3	586	2	6	2	0	10
	Arabic & Persian	4	227	60	291	993	13	0	478	6	7	1472	3	7	5	2	0
3	Burdwan																
	Vernacular	4	607	28	639	1939	13	9	136	8	0	2076	5	9	3	4	3
	Arabic & Persian	22	60	26	108	315	2	0	258	9	0	573	11	0	6	10	8
4	Moorshedabad																
	Vernacular	5	59	3	67	286	4	9	11	2	0	297	6	9	4	12	9
	Arabic & Persian	-	8	11	19	51	6	10	117	5	0	168	11	10	8	14	1
5	Rajshahi																
	Vernacular	-	8	2	10	41	0	0	10	0	0	51	0	0	5	1	7
	Arabic & Persian	9	2	4	15	12	8	0	19	12	0	32	4	0	5	6	0
6	Tirhoot																
	Vernacular	-	59	21	80	85	10	0	37	10	3	123	4	3	1	8	7
	Arabic & Persian	6	67	167	240	180	15	9	521	5	9	702	5	6	3	0	0

Note: NE = No emoluments, that is, giving gratuitous instruction; Fees = Fees, with or without wages and, or perquisites; Wages = Wages with or without perquisites.

Source: Tabulated from Dibona, 134-51, 204, 208, 212, 215, 217, 244, 246, 248, 250, 253.

in them, without payment of any fee or reward"; of Madras Collector that "astronomy, astrology, etc. are in some instances taught to the children of the poorer class of Brahmins gratis"; of Madura that Brahmins in Agraharams "gratuitously and generally instruct such pupils as may voluntarily be brought to them"; of Malabar that "the private teacher who gives lessons in Theology, Law etc. etc. does not receive any monthly or annual allowance but a present or compensation when the pupils leave him according to the circumstances and means of each"; and of Masulipatam that teachers of astrology, astronomy, law, etc. "receive no fixed wages" (Dharampal, 108, 113, 158, 183, 199, 206, 222).

The Madras Collector also mentioned that in a few cases teachers were given an allowance proportionate to the circumstances of parents or guardians. However, cases of such paid instruction might have been too few and far between; inasmuch as in virtually all cases instruction in Sanskrit schools was gratuitous. This is evident from at least three of the returns: of the 418 students in North Arcot district 361 students of 59 of the 69 teachers received gratuitous instruction. Of the 1454 students of 279 teachers those of all but one teacher in Rajamundry received such instruction. So also 656 of the 769 students/or all the students of 98 out of 109 teachers in Tanjore (Dharampal, 118-25, 138-41, 191).

As mentioned earlier such gratuitous instruction was often along with free board and lodging of the students. This is evident from the Malabar return which reported that the 75 students of the Zamorin's college were taught, fed, and lodged at the Zamorin's expense. It is also evident from the remarks of the Madras Provincial Committee:

> The high priests, called Tambirans, of the <u>Mattams</u> in the Tamil country, generally give lectures or depute their old pupils or dependent Pundits to

> give instruction in the various works of Tamil literature. Such occupations are considered meritorious and a part of their religious duty. The students are generally grown-up young men, intended less for secular than for clerical life. They pay no fee. On the contrary they receive food, and are almost an integral part of the religious establishment of the temples.
>
> In the case of Brahman villages away from the seats of such Mattams, there may be found piously disposed Pundits almost everywhere, generally much respected and influential, who regard it as meritorious act to impart to the young the learning they have acquired, and a sin to sell it. Such of them as have won the confidence of the well-to-do receive, no doubt, some support and recognition. The only payment that students tender is the "Guru Dakshana" or presents that their means can command, chiefly in kind; but the students not unfrequently render personal service to the Pundits (MPR, 67).

When the teachers could not feed the students, they at least taught them free and lodged them, allowing the students to live on charity. Thus the remarks in the Cuddapah returns:

> If he has not the means of obtaining instruction otherwise a young Brahmin leaves his home, and proceeds to the residence of a man of his own caste who is willing to afford instruction without recompence to all those resorting to him for the purpose. They do not however derive subsistence from him for as he is generally poor himself, his means could not of course give support to others, and even if he had the means his giving food and clothing to his pupils would attract so many as to defeat the object itself which is professed.
>
> The Board would naturally enquire, how these children who are so destitute as not to be able to procure instruction in their own villages, could subsist in those to which they are strangers, and to which they travel from 10 to 100 miles, with no intention of returning for several years. They are supported entirely by charity, daily repeated, not received from the instructor for the reasons above mentioned, but from the inhabitants of the villages generally. They

> receive some portion of Alms daily (for years) at the door of every Brahmin of the village, and this is conceded to them with a cheerfulness which considering the object in view must be esteemed as a most honorable trait in the Native character, and its unobtrusiveness ought to enhance the value of it (Dharampal, 222-3).

The remarks in the Guntoor return were similar:

> (If) the reader belongs to a family that can afford to support him he gets what is required for his expenses from his home and which is estimated at 3 rupees per month, but which is only sufficient to supply him with his victuals; and if on the other hand his family is in too indigent circumstances to make such allowance, the student procures his daily subsistence from the houses in the village, where taught, which willingly furnish such by turns (Dharampal, 206-7).

Of gratuitous instruction in the Sanskrit schools in Bombay Presidency our earlier references to the use of houses as places of instruction in Dharwar and Poona give some broad idea. But, the observations of the Ahmednagar Collector bring this out more clearly:

> The whole of the Seminaries in which the Veds, Shast rs and Astrology are studied are supposed to be taught gratis, in obedience to the injunction laid down in the Sacred Law Books of the Hindoos, which inculcate as one of the first duties of a learned man, that he should communicate his knowledge to his fellow creatures. I believe, however these men occasionally receive cloths, grain and other presents, but they have no fixed allowance, nor do they ever demand such (Parulekar, 122).

These observations were obviously based on the several returns sent to the Collector by his Kamvisdars, which reveal that of the 37 Sanskrit schools in various parts of the district, instruction was gratuitous in all but four. (Parulekar, 122).

The Khandesh return also reveals that instruction Sanskrit returns was gratuitous. Stating that teachers of the higher branches of Hindu learning exacted nothing, the Khandesh Collector wrote:

> Though already stated, I may here again observe, that it is not usual for teachers of the Hindoo Sciences to require anything, as a matter of right, from their scholars. They consider it a charitable act to give instructions in such branches of knowledge and in return trust to the eleemosynary gifts of the charitable, as well as of their scholars, who, though not bound to give, always do make such offerings as they can, and at all events, in all cases, perform such menial offices, in the family of their instructor, as Brahmins may perform. The scholars also who study the higher departments of Hindoo literature, are generally children of the poorer class of Brahmins, who themselves live on charity. To such it is no disgrace to beg and sometimes therefore it is to be found that the whole of the students as well as the master live by the donations which by daily circuit of the town and occasional peregrinations about the neighbouring country, they may be able to acquire (Parulekar, 107).

The Bombay Provincial Committee also mentioned that in Sanskrit schools while the teachers generally took no remuneration, the students were fed by the charity of their neighbours (BPR, I, 70).

Of gratuitous Sanskrit instruction in Bengal Presidency, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote:

> The pupils in tols pay no fees, but on the contrary are assisted by the Pandit to the extent of his means; the chief income of the Pandit being derived from presents in cash or kind from rich families, usually on occasions of marriage or other ceremonies (BPR, 71).

Adam gave a more detailed account of the gratuitous Sanskrit instruction in the context of the six districts of his survey. He reported that in Nattore all the 397

students of the 37 Sanskrit schools received gratuitous instruction; of whom 261 also received free board and lodging (Dibona, 152-73). The students who received free board and lodging were not natives of the villages where the schools were situated. Such 'foreign' students accounted for about 112 out of 153 in the city and district of Moorshedabad, 139 out of 393 in Beerbhoom, 768 out of 1358 in Burdwan, 283 out of 437 in South Behar, and 61 out of 214 in Tirhoot (Dibona, 226, 229, 233, 236, 238). Apart from receiving gratuitous instruction along with the 'native' students, as in Nattore these foreign students might have also received free board and lodging, though Adam did not report about this.

In the absence of fees from most of the students, the teachers derived their subsistence, and the maintenance of their schools, and of at least some of their students from various sources. Of these sources Ward wrote:

> No Hindoo teacher receives wages from his pupils: it is considered an act of very great merit to bestow learning; and he therefore endeavours to collect a subsistence at festivals, and by annual or more frequent tours among the rich, who readily support an individual thus devoting his time to the instruction of others. The teacher is also invited to all public ceremonies, and presents are sent to him whenever a feast takes place in the village. For his opinion in points of disputed property, and when an atonement is to be made for some offence, the tutor of a college is generally consulted, and receives fees. If he can from these funds give learning to a number, and add the gift of food also to a few, his merits are supposed to be of the very first order, procuring for him honour in this world, and the highest benefits in a future state. Hence, though he derives no gain in a direct way from his pupils, he is not left to want; he obtains a subsistence, but this in most cases is rather a scanty one. Should such a teacher become a favourite with a rich individual, or should one of his pupils be the son of a rich man, he then fares better (Ward, II, 489).

The sources of the income of teachers reported by Adam were mainly presents from ceremonies and assemblies, endowments, salaries, fees, priesthood, and public recitations, and medical practice in the case of the few Vaidya teachers. The number of teachers for whom Adam estimated the average income so received was 33 out of 37 in Nattore, all the 24 in Moorshedabad, 54 out of 58 in Beerbhoom, 189 out of 190 in Burdwan, 20 out of 27 in South Behar, and 50 out of 56 in Tirhoot. The average annual receipt of each of these teachers was Rs. 159 in Nattore, Rs. 123 in Moorshedabad, Rs. 54 in Beerbhoom, Rs. 63 in Burdwan, Rs. 370 in South Behar, and Rs. 50 in Tirhoot. Adam also reported that the students also received small sums from presents and religious mendicancy, which they used to defray those expenses which their relations or teachers did not enable them to meet. The number of schools for which he estimated the income from these sources was 34 in Nattore, 14 in Moorshedabad, 35 in Beerbhoom, 85 in Burdwan, and 3 schools in Tirhoot. The average annual income of the students as a whole of each of these schools estimated by him was Rs. 22 in Nattore, Rs. 7 in Moorshedabad, Rs. 5 in Beerbhoom, and Rs. 22 in Burdwan, and also in Tirhoot (Dibona, 152-73, 227-8, 230, 233, 235-6, 238-9).

It must be clear from the foregoing that gratuitous instruction in Sanskrit schools often along with free board and lodging of the students was a consequence of the patronage which these schools enjoyed. At the same time, it must also be made clear that both gratuitous instruction in and patronage of these schools were also the consequence of the religious injunction mentioned earlier that the Brahmin should teach and the sovereign and the community should take care of his needs. The Education Commission dwelt on this consequence as well:

> As a consequence, the teacher is bound to make a free gift of his learning, and not merely is he prohibited from charging fees for his tuition, but he is expected to give free board and lodging to his pupils (ECR, 58).

Pointing out that the efforts of wealthy individuals and of communities directed towards the emancipation of the teachers from worldly cares were "on the tacit or express assumption of their imparting instruction gratuitously". Leitner also observed that "most of the education given by Brahmins, certainly to members of their own caste was gratuitous" and that in innumerable instances, the teacher both fed and instructed his pupils (Leitner, I, 19).

This religious injunction was however, confined to the Sanskrit schools and did not cover the other two types of schools. Both the Education Commission and its Bengal Provincial Committee observed that at a distant time in the past instruction in the Vernacular schools was also gratuitous. This was when these schools were in their pristine Brahminic form, that is, when virtually all their students and teachers were Brahmins, when it was considered a great merit to make endowments to them as to the tols. They also observed that it was consequent on the fall of these schools into secular hands and the relaxation of the ban on the participation of Sudras in them that instruction in them ceased to be gratuitous. Valid as these observations may seem, it should be interesting to know if Brahmins enjoyed gratuitous instruction even in these schools. Though we do not have adequate data on this issue, the observation of the Broach Collector mentioned earlier that "children being the offspring of priests are exempt from payment" indicates such gratuitous instruction. The observation of the Ahmedabad Collector that "in the purgunnahs of Dholka, Dhundooka and a few villages in the Duskrohie Purgunnah, the sons of Brahmins are taught gratis" (Parulekar, 83) also indicates so.

What is, however, more important to note here is that although instruction in Sanskrit schools was in theory a monopoly of the Brahmins, it was its gratuitous nature which

made this monopoly effective in practice. As against this, although instruction in the Vernacular schools had come to be open to all but the untouchables, this openness was only in theory and not in practice. This was because of the expensiveness of Vernacular instruction, coupled with the operation of the caste-based economic system both of which ensured that those caste-groups which had no access to instruction when it was in its pristine form had no effective participation even in its fallen state either.

For, on the one hand the expensiveness of education and increase in the incidence of poverty and economic dependence as the castes descended in the social scale prevented from having any instruction many members of the lower castes who could not afford to bear the expenses, even if they had a desire for instruction. On the other, the extreme poverty and dependence of those groups further down the social scale prevented many of them from not only having any instruction, but more importantly, even developing any desire for it by forcing them to concentrate their energy and resources on the pursuit of their struggle for survival.

The educational returns and the reports of the Education Commission and its provincial committees illustrate the operation of these economic constraints in numerous ways. But these are not directly relevant to our present discussion.

4.4 Membership

We use the term membership here to refer to the general size of indigenous schools in terms of both teachers and students, or what may be called the teacher-school, and teacher-student ratios, the teacher-student age groups, and the teacher-student relationship. We shall discuss each of these separately.

4.4.1 Teacher-school ratio

If what passed for an indigenous school were a teacher and his students as we mentioned earlier, it seems natural to presume that the institution of indigenous education was also characterised by single-teacher schools.

Some of the Madras returns indicate that this was indeed generally the case. For instance, there is a reference in the Bellary return that "the higher (students) are more immediately under the superintendence of the Master, who at the same time has his eyes upon the whole school". The Rajamundry return suggests a coincidence of the number of colleges and teachers. The Seringapatam return contains a reference to the emoluments of 41 superintendents corresponding to an equal number of schools in the district. Finally, the South Arcot return indicates that the schools in that district had each one teacher. Further evidence of the prevalence of the phenomenon of single-teacher schools can be inferred from the information contained in the Coimbatore return, on inter alia, the total number of schools and scholars and the average payment made to the teacher; and also from the discussion of the means of supporting the schools in the North Arcot and Tanjore returns (Dharampal, 94, 106, 118-25, 138-43, 145, 179, 190).

That this phenomenon continued well into the close of the 19th century is evident from the report of the Madras Provincial Committee: For, even as late as 1882, all the indigenous schools in the districts of Bellary, Ganjam, and Nellore, and virtually all the schools in the remaining districts had only one teacher each (Table 3).

The prevalence of single-teacher schools was not unique to Madras Presidency, but was an all-India phenomenon: The Bombay returns indicate that all the Vernacular schools in

Ahmedabad, Ahmednagar, Dharwar, Khandesh and South Concan, and all the Arabic and Persian, and all the Sanskrit schools in Ahmednagar and Khandesh also had only one teacher each (Table 4). Adam's reports indicate that virtually all the three types of schools in the six districts of his survey also shared this feature (Table 5).

4.4.2 <u>Teacher-student ratio</u>

The teacher-student ratios in the schools of the three Presidencies were in keeping with the generally single-teacher character of the schools. This is evident from the Madras and Bombay returns and also from Adam's reports: The average number of students per teacher was 9 to 12 in the Vernacular schools in Madras Presidency, though the report of the Madras Provincial Committee indicates that by late 19th century it had risen to 13 to 36. The average number was 13 to 18 in the Vernacular schools in Bombay Presidency with the exception of schools in Ahmedabad district, and 6 to 12 in those in the Bengal (Tables 3 to 6).

In Ahmedabad district the schools were relatively large in size with about 32 students per school. Such large size seems to have been a general feature of the schools in Gujarat as it is indicated by two other returns as well: The Surat Judge reported that the largest number of students in anyone school was 100, the smallest 30, and the average about 52; while the Kaira Judge reported that of the two schools in his jurisdiction one had an average of 150 and the other 80 students (Parulekar, 66, 83).

In keeping with their relatively large size, the management of these schools had some special features, of which the Ahmedabad Collector wrote:

Table 3: Teacher-school and teacher-student ratios in indigenous elementary schools in Madras Presidency, 1882.

Sl. No.	District	Schools	Teachers	Students	Teachersper school	Students per teacher
1	Arcot,North	535	599	13863	1.12	23.14
2	Arcot, South	1148	1156	19401	1.01	16.78
3	Bellary	267	267	4802	1.00	17.98
4	Canara, South	123	169	4119	1.37	24.37
5	Chingleput	623	653	12050	1.05	18.45
6	Coimbatore	627	646	11158	1.03	17.27
7	Cuddapah	165	168	2892	1.02	17.21
8	Ganjam	929	929	12153	1.00	13.08
9	Godavari	641	730	16027	1.14	21.95
10	Kistna	387	410	7790	1.06	19.00
11	Kurnool	66	74	1305	1.12	17.63
12	Madras	169	176	4466	1.04	25.35
13	Madura	902	987	20396	1.09	20.66
14	Malabar	672	710	25683	1.06	36.17
15	Nellore	161	161	2389	1.00	14.84
16	Nilgiri	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
17	Salem	611	615	8861	1.01	14.41
18	Tanjore	1392	1445	27046	1.04	18.72
19	Tinnevelly	897	959	22714	1.07	23.68
20	Trichinopoly	367	429	9845	1.17	22.95
21	Vizagpatam	582	621	12172	1.07	19.60
	Total	11264	11904	239132	1.06	20.09

Note : NA - Not Available

Source: Tabulated from Education Commission, 1882, Report of the Madras Provincial Committee, page 70.

Table 4: Teacher-school and teacher-student ratios in indigenous schools in Bombay Presidency, 1824-25

Sl. No.	District	Schools			Teachers			Students			Teachers per school			Students per teacher		
		V	AP	S	V	AP	S	V	AP	S	V	AP	S	V	AP	S
1	Ahmedabad	84	Nil	Nil	84	Nil	Nil	2673	Nil	Nil	1.00	-	-	31.82	-	-
2	Ahmednagar	116	7	38	116	7	38	2142	*	*	1.00	1.00	1.00	13.30	*	*
3	Concan, South	85	Nil	Nil	85	Nil	Nil	1503	Nil	Nil	1.00	-	-	17.68	-	-
4	Dharwar	265	5	Nil	265	6	Nil	3871	57	Nil	1.00	1.20	-	14.61	9.50	-
5	Khandesh	95	19	75	95	19	75	1543	166	313	1.00	1.00	1.00	16.24	8.14	4.17

Note: V : Vernacular; AP: Arabic & Persian; S: Sanskrit; * Not given separately; ratios are for the three types of schools as a whole.

Source: Tabulated from, Parulekar, 22-52, 85, 116-34, 137-50.

Table 5: Teacher-school and teacher-student ratios in indigenous schools in Bengal Presidency, 1835-38

Sl. No.	District	Schools			Teachers			Students			Teachers per school			Students per teacher		
		V	AP	S	V	AP	S	V	AP	S	V	AP	S	V	AP	S
1	Deerbhoom	412	73	56	412	73	58	6383	490	393	1.00	1.00	1.04	15.49	6.71	6.78
2	Behar, South	285	291	27	285	291	27	3090	1486	437	1.00	1.00	1.00	10.84	5.11	6.18
3	Burdwan	629	105	190	639	108	190	13190	971	1358	1.02	1.03	1.00	20.64	8.99	7.15
4	Moorshedabad	67	19	24	67	19	24	1080	109	153	1.00	1.00	1.00	16.12	5.74	6.38
5	Rajshahi (Nattore)	10	16	37	10	16	37	192	70	397	1.00	1.00	1.00	19.20	4.37	10.73
6	Tirhoot	80	238	56	80	240	56	507	598	214	1.00	1.01	1.00	6.34	2.51	3.82

Source: Tabulated from, Libona, 134-73; 202-4; 207-9; 211-13; 215-6; 217-8; 224-6; 227-9; 230-33; 234-6; 238-9; 244-54.

> In large schools the schoolmaster is frequently assisted in his professional duties by one or more of his relation to whom he assigns a certain portion of the emoluments of the school. Head boys are sometimes employed in instructing the junior classes and during the time they are thus employed they are not required to pay anything for their own instruction (Parulekar, 83).

The Ahmedabad Judge also reported similar practices:

> Schools containing larger number of pupils are attended by more than one teacher in which case the principal teacher maintains another person, friends or relation to assist him and shares the income equally or less. If possible some entertain a goomasta also of the Brahmin caste to attend the school paying him about 24 rupees per annum; for some the head pupil in school does that duty without having any remuneration for it (Parulekar, 98).

The average number of students per teacher in the other two types of schools was relatively smaller: In the Arabic and Persian schools it ranged from 7 to 12, and 8 to 10 in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and from 3 to 10 in the Bengal districts. In the Sanskrit schools in them it ranged from 4 to 15, about 4, and 4 to 11 respectively (Tables 3 to 6).

The relatively smaller size of the Sanskrit schools is evident from other accounts as well. For instance, Bernier observed that some of the teachers in 17th century Benaras had only four students, others six or seven, that the most eminent had only twelve or fifteen, and that this was the largest number (Smith, 334). Ward's account of the state of higher learning in early 19th century Benares, Nadia, and Calcutta, shows that of the 83 teachers as many as 52 had only 10 to 15 students each, and 16 had only 16 to 25 students each. The only exceptions he noted were three teachers having 30 students each, and one teacher having 50 students (Ward, II, 490-5). The Zamorin's college in Malabar with 75 students

Table 6: Teacher-student ratios in indigenous schools in Madras Presidency, 1822-25

Sl. No.	District	Teachers			Students			Students per teacher		
		V	AP	S	V	AP	S	V	AP	S
1	Arcot, North	590	40	69	6928	398	418	11.74	9.95	6.06
2	Arcot, South	875	-	-	10523	-	-	12.03	-	-
3	Bellary	489	21	23	6641	*	*	12.46	*	*
4	Canara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Chingleput	508	-	51	6845	-	398	13.45	-	7.80
6	Coimbatore	753	10	173	8206	*	724	10.75	*	4.18
7	Cuddapah	494	-	494	7000	-	-	12.15	-	-
8	Ganjam	255	-	-	2977	-	-	11.67	-	-
9	Guntoor	403	-	171	6785	-	939	16.84	-	5.49
10	Madras	305	-	-	5236	-	-	17.17	-	-
11	Madura	844	-	*	13781	-	*	16.33	-	*
12	Malabar	759	-	1	14153	-	75	18.65	-	75.00
13	Masulipatam	465	19	49	4847	236	199	10.42	12.42	4.06
14	Nellore	648	50	106	7621	*	*	9.48	*	*
15	Rajamundry	286	5	279	2624	34	1454	9.17	6.80	5.21
16	Salem	333	-	53	4326	-	324	12.99	-	6.11
17	Seringapatam	41	-	-	627	-	-	15.29	-	-
18	Tanjore	884	-	109	17582	-	769	19.89	-	7.05
19	Tinnevelly	607	-	-	9377	-	-	15.45	-	-
20	Trichinopoly	790	-	9	10331	-	131	13.08	-	14.56
21	Vizagpatam	914	-	-	9715	-	-	10.63	-	-

Notes: 1) For Canara data are not available. Other blanks in the Table denote 'Nils'.
2) * Not given separately.

Source: Tabulated from Dharampal, 96-99, 102-7, 110-11, 114-27, 130-43, 146-56, 160-5, 168-77, 188-9, 190-97, 200-1, 208-11, 214-19, 224-5, 232-39.

might have also been an exception to the relatively small size of the Sanskrit schools. How a single teacher could instruct such a relatively large number of students should be clear from the remarks of the Ahmedabad Collector and of the Ahmedabad Judge. It should also be explained by the monitorial system of instruction implied in these remarks; but of it we shall say more shortly.

4.4.3 Teacher-student age-groups

Of the age groups of teachers in the three types of schools the Madras and Bombay returns do not contain any data. However, the observation of the Madras Provincial Committee that about two-fifths of the teachers of the elementary schools in the Presidency as a whole were below the age of 30 years (Table 7) indicates that both young and old had an almost equal share in the elementary schools. As against this, the remarks of the Bombay Provincial Committee that in Sanskrit schools teachers were usually old Shastris (BPR, I, 70) indicate that the old predominated the advanced schools.

Adam's reports also confirm these observations. His report on Nattore indicates that of the 11 teachers of Vernacular schools 5 were below 30 years of age, 4 were between 30 and 45 and two were 45 or above; and that of the 16 teachers of Arabic and Persian schools, 5 each were below 30, and below 30 and 45 years of age, and 6 were 45 or above. As against these, of the 38 teachers of Sanskrit schools only two were below 30 years of age, whereas 18 each were between 30 and 45, and 45 or above (Dibona, 134-173). For the remaining five districts of his survey Adam did not give the break-up of teachers by age, but the average age given by him for teachers of each type of schools broadly resemble the Nattore pattern (Table 8).

Table 7: Indigenous elementary school-teachers in Madras Presidency by age-group, 1882

Sl. No.	District	Teachers: By profession	Teachers: Adventurers	Teachers: Total	Age of teachers by profession: -30 yrs	Age of teachers by profession: 30+ yrs	Age of teachers by profession: Total
1	Arcot, North	599	-	599	231	368	599
		100.00		100.00	38.56	61.44	100.00
2	Arcot, South	939	217	1156	481	458	939
		81.23	18.77	100.00	51.22	48.78	100.00
3	Bellary	255	12	267	117	138	255
		95.51	4.49	100.00	45.88	54.12	100.00
4	Canara, South	169	-	169	152	17	169
		100.00		100.00	89.94	10.06	100.00
5	Chingleput	653	-	653	198	455	653
		100.00		100.00	30.32	69.68	100.00
6	Coimbatore	646	-	646	248	398	646
		100.00		100.00	38.39	61.61	100.00
7	Cuddapah	168	-	168	101	67	168
		100.00		100.00	60.12	39.88	100.00
8	Ganjam	929	-	929	439	490	929
		100.00		100.00	47.26	52.74	100.00
9	Godavari	730	-	730	370	360	730
		100.00		100.00	50.68	49.32	100.00
10	Kistna	399	11	410	135	264	399
		97.32	2.68	100.00	33.83	66.17	100.00
11	Kurnool	63	11	74	21	42	63
		85.14	14.86	100.00	33.33	66.67	100.00
12	Madras	176	-	176	32	144	176
		100.00		100.00	18.18	81.82	100.00
13	Madura	410	577	987	56	354	410
		41.54	58.46	100.00	13.66	86.34	100.00
14	Malabar	706	4	710	465	241	706
		99.44	0.56	100.00	65.86	34.14	100.00
15	Nellore	161	-	161	57	104	161
		100.00		100.00	35.40	64.60	100.00
16	Nilgiri	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
17	Salem	489	126	615	194	295	489
		79.51	20.49	100.00	39.67	60.33	100.00
18	Tanjore	1323	122	1445	436	887	1323
		91.56	8.44	100.00	32.96	67.04	100.00
19	Tinnevelly	835	124	959	424	411	835
		87.07	12.93	100.00	50.78	49.22	100.00
20	Trichinopoly	247	182	429	75	172	247
		57.58	42.42	100.00	30.36	69.64	100.00
21	Vizagpatam	621	-	621	266	355	621
		100.00		100.00	42.83	57.17	100.00
	Total	10518	1386	11904	4498	6020	10518
		88.36	11.64	100.00	42.76	57.24	100.00

Note: The lower figure in each row gives row - percentages; NA: Not available.

Source: Tabulated from, Education Commission, 1882, Report of the Madras Provincial Committee, p.70.

Table 8: Average age of teachers by type of schools in Bengal Presidency, 1835-38

(Age in years)

Sl. No.	District	Vernacular	Arabic & Persian	Sanskrit
1	Beerbhoom	38.3	36.3	45.6
2	Behar, South	36.0	34.2	43.9
3	Burdwan	39.05	39.5	45.2
4	Moorshedabad	44.3	36.5	46.2
5	Tirhoot	34.8	33.9	47.3

Source: Tabulated from Dibona, 203, 208, 211, 215, 217, 224, 227, 230, 234, 238, 244, 246-7, 250, 253.

The age-groups of scholars can be understood in relation to two important factors: age of admission, and duration of instruction.

Among Hindus in general initiation to writing and reading has been an event of great ritual significance, and this to such an extent that a child's schooling usually commenced only after the ceremony of initiation, performed at a prescribed age. Of this ritual, Altekar wrote:

> Vidyarambha Sanskara, which is described by some authorities also as Aksharasvikaranam, was performed, as the name itself would suggest, at the commencement of primary education. Fifth year, which is now usually regarded as suitable for the beginning of education, was the time prescribed for it. If the ritual had to be postponed on account of unavoidable causes, it had to be performed at least before the Upanayana. An auspicious day in the Uttarayana (January to July) was to be selected for the purpose. The ritual was a simple one, requiring the young boy

> to worship Saraswati and Vinayaka along with the tutelary deities and the Sutrakaras of his family. Some authorities prescribe a Homa, but it is probable that it may not have been universially performed. The worship of the deities was followed by that of the Guru or the primary teacher, and the boy was then handed over to him. The teacher used to make the boy write on rice all the alphabet with the help of a specially manufactured golden or silver pen. Suitable presents made to the teacher and the Brahmanas invited for the ceremony marked the termination of the ritual (Altekar, 1934, 1-2).

Of the age of admission and the admission-ritual in Madras Presidency, the Bellary Collector wrote:

> The education of the Hindoo youth generally commences when they are five years old. On reaching this age, the Master and scholars of the school to which the boy is to be sent, are invited to the house of his parents. The whole are seated in a circle round an image of Gunasee, and the child to be initiated is placed exactly opposite to it. The school master, sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to Gunasee entreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger in rice the mystic name of the deity, and is dismissed with a present from the parents, according to their ability. The child, next morning commences the great work of his education (Dharampal, 178-9).

The Coimbatore, Madras, Masulipatam, Nellore, North Arcot, and Rajamundry returns also indicate that children were usually admitted to school when they were five years of age. The Rajahmundry Collector made it clear that 'fifth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of the boy's age' was the "luck day" for entrance into school (Dharampal, 100, 113, 129, 152, 157, 190).

Although admission of children to school might have thus been generally at 5 years of age, the returns indicate wide variations in the duration of instruction among the

different districts: It was 2 years in Cuddapah, 3 to 5 years in Salem, 3 to 6 years in Nellore, 5 years in Bellary and Tanjore, 5 to 6 years in North Arcot, 5 to 7 years in Rajamundry, 7 to 10 years in Madura, 7 to 12 years in Masulipatam, 8 years in Madras and Trichinopoly, and 8 to 9 years in Coimbatore.

The remarks in the Cuddapah return were that "the period during which each scholar receives instruction at school (and after the expiration of which he is usually considered to have completed his education) is about two years". Those in the Salem return were that "the period which scholars usually continue at school is from three to five years according to the ability of their friends (Sic!) to maintain them there and their own aptitude to learn". The Nellore Collector observed that the scholars continued in schools from 3 to 6 years. The Bellary Collector reported that "some children continue at school only five years, the parents through poverty, or other circumstances, being often obliged to take them away", and that some "not unfrequently continue at school as long as fourteen and fifteen years". "The scholars are usually kept at school about 5 years" were the remarks of the Tanjore Collector. "(To Tamil, Taloogoo and Hindvee schools) the scholars are sent generally about the age of 5 and in the course of five or six years are generally found sufficiently forward to commence by assisting in the preparation of copying of accounts" were those of the North Arcot Collector. "The time that scholars usually continue at school varies from 5 to 7 years" were the remarks of the Rajamundry Collector. "Scholars usually first attend school at the age of 5 and leave it from 12 to 15" were those of the Madura Collector. The Masulipatam Collector reported that "the scholars who are instructed in the Gentoo language usually enter the schools in their fifth year, and continue

in them till about the twelfth, or seventeenth of their age". "(The) children are sent to school when they are about five years old and their continuance in it depends in a great measure on their mental faculties" were the remarks of the Madras Collector. "The scholars generally continue in the schools from the age of 7 to 15" were those of the Trichinopoly Collector. Finally, "the earliest age at which boys attend school is 5 years; they continue there until they are 13 or 14" were the remarks of the Coimbatore Collector (Dharampal, 100, 108, 113, 117, 128-9, 153, 157, 167, 179, 190, 204, 222).

None of the Bombay returns made any direct references to the age of admission in that Presidency. However, the returns of the Ahmednagar and Poona Collectors indicate that the age of admission was 8 years. Thus the remarks in the return of Shewgaum Kamvisdar to the Ahmednagar Collector that "the education of clever boys is completed in 4 years, between the ages of 8 and 12; those of medium talents in 6 years and the dunces (if at all) in 8 years". The remarks of the Poona Collector were that "8 or 10 years is necessary for the acquisition (of instruction), the boys generally going at 6 or 8 years of age" (Parulekar, 132, 153).

Apart from the above two returns a number of other returns also refer to the duration of instruction. Thus, the remarks by the Ahmedabad judge that "each pupil is supposed to remain in the school for three years", and of the Ahmedabad Collector that "a boy, whose education it is not intended should be very extensive, seldom remains at school longer than a year or a year and a half, but those who are designed to receive a more liberal education attend the school for about three years". The remarks of the Dharwar Collector that in the schools proposed to be established the number of free scholars "should not exceed 5 per cent of the number of youths from the age of 7 to 14 in each

village" indicate the duration of instruction as 7 years. The period for which the Khandesh Collector recommended allowances to teachers, viz. "four years if the scholar has attained by that time 12 years, if not, till he has attained that age, but if he should not go to school till 10 years of age or afterwards, then only three years seem amply sufficient to enable a master to teach all that is taught at a village school" indicates it as 3 to 4 years. Finally, the statement given by the Surat Collector on the number of children according to the number of months spent in schools, that is, 977 to 1057 children who learned for 12, 42 for 8, 243 for 6, 131 for 5, 1413 to 1653 for 4, and 97 for 3 months, indicates the duration of instruction as between 3 and 12 months (Parulekar, 64, 83, 99, 104-5, 139).

Of age of admission, Adam wrote in the context of Nattore:

> It is expressly prescribed by the authorities of Hindu law that children should be initiated in writing and reading in their fifth year, or if this should have been neglected, then in the seventh, ninth, or any subsequent year, being an odd number. Certain months of the year, and certain days of the month and week, are also prescribed as propitious to such a purpose, and on the day fixed a religious service is performed in the family by the family-priest, consisting principally of the worship of Saraswati, the goddess of learning, after which the hand of the child is guided by the priest to form the letters of the alphabet, and he is also then taught for the first time to pronounce them. This ceremony is not of indispensable obligation on Hindus, and is performed only by those parents who possess the means and intention of giving their children more extended instruction. It is strictly the commencement of the child's school-education, and in some parts of the country he is almost immediately sent to school (Dibona, 49-50).

Adam's investigations however, revealed that far from being determinate, the age of admission was generally regulated by the means and opportunities of the parents and the disposition and capacity of the children (Dibona, 50). Based on investigations in Nattore he reported the usual age of admission as 5 years in 2 schools, 7 years in 3, and 5 to 6, 6, 6 to 7, 8, and 10 years in one school each. For four of the remaining five districts of his investigation, he reported the average age of admission as 5.7 years in the schools in Burdwan, 6.3 in Moorshedabad, 7.9 in South Behar, and 5.03 in Tirhoot (Dibona, 134-51, 205, 213, 216, 218).

Adam reported the actual duration of instruction in Nattore as 5 years in 2 schools 7 years in another two, and 6, 7 to 8, 8, 8 to 9, 9, 10, and 12 years in one school each. The average duration of instruction estimated by him for four of the remaining districts was 10.9 years in the schools of Burdwan, 10.47 years in Moorshedabad, 7.8 years in South Behar, and 8.07 years in Tirhoot (Dibona, 134-5, 205, 213, 216, 218).

Like Hindus, Muhammadans commenced education of their children only after a ritual, the maktab-ceremony, usually performed when a child is 4 years 4 months and 4 days old. Law gave a brief account of this ceremony as witnessed by Smith in 1801 among the Muhammadans in North-West Provinces:

> When the boy is four years, four months, four days old, for him a silver slate is made, and they write on it the Surahi-Iqra, a chapter of the Quran, and make him repeat it; at this time, a master is kept for him (Law, 128).[18]

The Madras and Bombay returns do not refer to the age of admission and only one return each mentioned the duration of instruction, in the Arabic and Persian schools. The North Arcot return mentioned it as 7 or 8 years (Dharampal, 140), while the Ahmedabad Judge mentioned it as 5 to 10 years (Parulekar, 97).

Of the initiation-ritual among Muhammadans, Adam wrote in the context of Nattore:

> Like the Hindus,... the Muhammadans formally initiate their children into the study of letters. When a child, whether a boy or a girl, is four years, four months, and four days old, the friends of the family assemble and the child is dressed in his best clothes, brought in to the company, and seated on a cushion in the presence of all. The alphabet the form of letters used for computation, the Introduction to the Koran, some verses of Chapter LV, and the whole of Chapter LXXXVII, are placed before him, and he is taught to pronounce them in succession. If the child is self-willed and refuses to read, he is made to pronounce the Bismillah, which answers every purpose, and from that day his education is deemed to have commenced (Dibona, 59).

However, based on his investigations in Nattore, Adam reported the usual age of admission as 7 years in 6 schools, 12 years in 3, and 4.5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, and 14 years in one school each. For four of the remaining districts he estimated the average age of admission as 16.3 and 10.3, 11.0 and 9.5, 12.3 and 7.8, and 12.1 and 6.8 years in the Arabic and in the Persian schools of Burdwan, Moorshedabad, South Behar, and Tirhoot respectively. He reported the actual duration of instruction in Nattore as 1 year in two schools, 3 years in another two, 4 years in 3 schools, 5 years in four schools and 7.5, 8, and 16 years in one school each. He estimated the average duration of instruction as 11.8 and 16.2, 10.1 and 11.3, 11.9 and 13.7 and 13.3 and 12.5 years in the Arabic and in the Persian schools of Burdwan, Moorshedabad, South Behar, and Tirhoot respectively (Dibona, 134-51, 245, 249, 252, 255).

To the age of admission to Sanskrit schools and the ceremony of initiation (Upanayana), we have already made some brief references. None of the Bombay returns contains any information on either age of admission or duration of

instruction in these schools; while of the Madras returns only two contain any information on both. The age of admission was reported as 15 years in the Coimbatore return and 10 years in the Cuddapah return. The duration of instruction was reported as 6 years in the Cuddapah return, and 8 to 12 years in the North Arcot return (Dharampal, 100, 138-40, 222).

Adam reported the usual age of admission in Nattore as 9 years in two schools, 15 years in another two, 10 years in 17 schools, 12 years in 7 schools, and 7 to 9, 8, 9 to 10, 10 to 15, 11, 14, and 22 to 25 years in one school each. He estimated the average age of admission as between 11 and 27 years in the schools in Burdwan, 12 and 29 in Moorshedabad, 12 and 27 in South Behar, and 9 and 22 years in Tirhoot. He reported the actual duration of instruction in Nattore as 10, 12, 15 to 20, 16 to 23, and 20 years in 2 schools each, 13 years in 4 schools, 15 years in 6 schools, 22 years in 8 schools, and 3 to 7, 8, 11 to 16, 13 to 14, 18 and 18 to 21 years in one school each. The average duration of instruction estimated by him was between 2 and 17 years in Burdwan, 2 and 14 years in Moorshedabad, 3 and 13 years in South Behar, and 3 and 18 years in Tirhoot. (Dibona, 152-73, 226, 234, 237, 239).

Variations in the age of admission and duration of instruction in the different types of schools might have been for a number of reasons such as purpose, nature and type of instruction, means and opportunities of the parents, and disposition of the children. In the case of Sanskrit schools these variations were also due to the variations in branches of learning (Table 9).

4.4.4 <u>Teacher-student relationship</u>

The Madras and Bombay returns and Adam's reports do not contain any account of teacher-student relationship. However, in Sanskrit schools this relationship might have

Table 9: Average years of instruction in Sanskrit schools in Bengal Presidency, 1836-38

Sl. No.	Branch of learning	Behar, South			Burdwan			Moorshedabad			Tirhoot		
		AAA	AAL	ADI	AAA	AAL	ADI	AAA	AAL	ADI	AAA	AAL	ADI
1	Astrology	17.0	28.1	11.1	23.4	30.5	7.1	-	-	-	12.3	26.2	13.9
2	Grammar	11.5	24.4	12.9	11.4	20.7	9.3	11.9	18.8	6.9	9.0	24.3	15.3
3	Law	18.5	26.5	8.0	23.2	33.5	10.3	23.6	33.2	9.6	21.8	31.2	9.4
4	Lexicology	15.9	23.8	7.9	15.7	17.8	2.1	18.0	20.2	2.2	20.6	22.6	2.6
5	Literature	16.6	23.4	6.8	18.6	24.9	6.3	16.6	26.5	10.5	20.2	25.5	5.3
6	Logic	22.1	28.5	6.4	17.8	29.0	11.2	21.0	34.6	13.6	17.5	35.5	18.0
7	Medicine	18.0	29.0	11.0	16.2	24.2	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	Mimansa	22.5	28.0	5.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	Mythology	19.6	26.8	7.2	24.6	31.6	7.0	29.1	33.6	4.5	20.0	24.0	4.0
10	Rhetoric	20.0	24.0	4.0	23.6	27.1	3.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Sankhya	21.0	28.0	7.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	Tantras	26.5	33.0	6.5	27.5	32.5	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	Vedanta	13.2	16.6	3.4	24.3	34.6	10.3	-	-	-	15.0	21.0	6.0

Note: 1) AAA: Average age of admission; AAL : average age of leaving; ADI: average duration of instruction.

2) Blanks refer to 'Nils'.

Source: Tabulated from, Dibona, 226, 234, 237, 239.

been one of respect on one side and of affection on the other as Leitner would have us believe (Leitner, I, 19). It might have also been so in the Arabic and Persian schools, albeit to a lesser extent. But in the Vernacular schools the relationship seem to have been different.

Of the teacher-student relationship in Sanskrit schools the Education Commission observed that "Under a system in which the pupils were not only taught but maintained, the relationship of the master to his pupil became almost paternal", and that "the Hindu law enjoined on the scholar not only obedience, but a veneration for his teacher". The Commission explained this relationship further by comparing tols with madrasas:

> In the case of the Muhammadan madrasa the personal attachment between the teacher and his pupils is not so marked. This difference may be attributed to the distinct characteristics of the two religious systems. The Brahman commands more personal veneration than the Maulavi. The diverse character of Hindu and Muhammadan endowments reflects the distinction. A Muhammadan educational endowment, whether of landed or other property, is made in favour of some institution founded by a pious Maulavi; whereas the Hindu endowment, though it carries with it the solemn obligation of teaching, is made in favour of a great Pandit and his personal heirs. The Muhammadan pupil, who is educated or even supported by the endowment does not feel personally bound to his teacher in the same way as the Hindu pupil does to his spiritual guide from whom he derives both instruction and maintenance (ECR, 58-9).

No doubt, even in the Vernacular schools teachers enjoyed considerable respect. The remarks of the Ahmedabad Judge as to why he considered Brahmins best suited for the duty of teachers indicate this:

> For by their usages, a scholar is required highly to venerate his instructor and on several occasions to prostrate himself before him, and it would therefore be very inconsistent for the son of a Brahmin to do this to any person of an inferior cast (Parulekar, 96).

Also indicative is the remark of Bartolomeo that "when the Guru, or teacher, enters the school, he is always received with the utmost reverence and respect" (Dharampal, 253).

It is however, important to note that in contrast to the relationship in Sanskrit schools and to a lesser extent even in Arabic and Persian schools, respect in the Vernacular schools did not flow from a reciprocal relationship marked also by the teacher's affection of his students. On the contrary, it was only ensured by a scheme of punitory discipline. Of this, the observations of Bartolomeo:

> His pupils must throw themselves down at full length before him; place their right hand on their mouth, and not venture to speak a single word until he gives them express permission. Those who talk and prate contrary to the prohibition of their master are expelled from the school, as boys who cannot restrain their tongue, and who are consequently unfit for the study of philosophy. By these means, the preceptor always receives that respect which is due to him: the pupils are obedient, and seldom offend against rules which are so carefully inculcated (Dharampal, 253).

The Bellary return also made a brief reference to this scheme of discipline:

> The first child who enters (the school) has the name of <u>Saraswatee</u>, or the Goddess of learning, written upon the palm of his hand, as a sign of honor, and, on the hand of the second, a cypher is written, to show that he is worthy, neither of praise nor censure, the third scholar receives a gentle stripe; the fourth two, and every succeeding scholar that comes an additional one. This custom as well as the punishments in native schools, seem of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged, and often suspended by both hands, and a pulley, to the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing, but perhaps a healthy mode of punishment (Dharampal, 179).

Of the Bombay returns the Surat Collector mentioned that "school masters are in the way of applying the cane at times pretty freely" (Parulekar, 83). One of the witnesses before the Bombay Provincial Committee felt that discipline in indigenous schools was formerly more severe and described the punishments elaborately:

> The discipline ... was formerly more severe than it is now. The punishments are - pinching; slapping, with the open hand; beating on the hands or back with a rod; tying the boy's hands to an elevated beam; causing him to catch his ears and confess his faults before the school; binding his hands behind his shoulders and inserting the dust board; causing the boy to sit down and rise up quickly till allowed to stop; to hold the great toes with his hands, and to give bail for good conduct in the future. For very refractory pupils the punishment of binding the hands beneath the legs and inserting a ruler is sometimes inflicted. Another punishment is to cause the boy to bend down, and putting his hands under his legs to catch his ears and remain in that position for sometime. The work of the school being carried on aloud, the master whose voice, if he called out, would be lost in the babel of sounds, keeps a ball beside him and throws it at the boy whom he wishes to punish, the boy brings the ball to the master and receives his punishment (BPR, II, 246).

Ward wrote that teachers in Bengal punished with cane or rod, or compelled a truant to stand on one leg holding up a brick in each hand or to have his arms stretched out till completely tired (Ward, I, 161). Writing in the context of Bengal, Duff observed that children viewed their teachers as ghosts who haunted and scared them, and that when a child misbehaved the most severe threat of the mother was "call the <u>Guru mahashai</u> to take him to school". Viewing the scheme of discipline in indigenous schools as a reign of terror, he gave a detailed account of the various modes of punishments inflicted on the students many of which may not be easily resorted to even in a modern prison. He argued that such punishments paralysed the intellectual and moral powers

of the students, and made the students servile to the teachers in their presence, and hostile in their absence driving them to retaliation and revenge (Duff, 334-6).

4.5 Routine of schools

In our foregoing discussion of the nature of indigenous schools we tried to delineate indigenous education as a macro-social institution in terms of the main features of the schools. For a clearer and more comprehensive view of this institution we ought to understand it at the micro-level as well. We shall attempt this by a brief description of the ordinary routine of the schools.

Of the routine of Vernacular schools in Madras Presidency only the Bellary return gave some details. Stating that the internal routine of the schools for each day was the same with very few exceptions and little variation, the Bellary Collector pointed out that the hour generally for opening school was six o' clock (Dharampal, 179). He described the disciplining of students as already mentioned as the first 'lesson' in the daily routine of the schools; the division of students into classes, and then the actual process of instruction to which we shall turn shortly. Although the Collector did not refer to the daily duration of instruction, some other returns indicate it as from dawn to dusk with short intervals.

Thus, "the school hours are from 6 am to 10, and from 1 or 2 pm until 8 at night"; were the remarks of the Coimbatore Collector. "Pupils are for the most part in the habit of attending... school at day break; after remaining until about 10 o'clock they return home, and attend school again from half past eleven until sunset"; were those of the Cuddapah Sub-Collector. The Ganjum Collector reported that "the schools are usually opened from 6 o'clock in the

morning until 5 o'clock in the evening". The Guntur Collector pointed out that "the scholars generally assemble in the morning at 6 o'clock and stay until nine and then go to their houses to take their morning meal and return again to school within 11 o'clock, and continue until 2 or 3 o'clock in the evening, and again to their respective houses to eat their rice and return by 4 o'clock and continue until 7 o'clock in the evening". The Masulipatam Collector remarked that "the school hours are from 6 to 9 in the morning, and again from 11 to 6 in the evening". "The scholars generally attend the school from 6 to 10 o'clock in the morning then from 12 to 2 and lastly from 3 to 7 and 8 o'clock in the evening"; were the remarks of the South Arcot Collector. Finally, the Vizagpatam Collector remarked that "usual hours of attendance are from 6 o'clock to 9 and from half past ten am to 2 pm" and that "the scholars again assemble at 3 and are dismissed for the day about 6 or 7 pm" (Dharampal, 100, 157, 174, 206, 212, 221).

The Guntur Collector also mentioned that morning and evening hours were generally for reading and afternoon for writing; while the Coimbatore Collector referred to the holidays as well: "Besides the several festivals they have regular holidays 4 days in each month on the full of the Moon, the New Moon, and a day after each" (Dharampal, 100, 206).

The Bombay returns do not refer to the routine of the schools; but the Bombay Provincial Committee gave a coherent account of it, which it stated was nearly the same in all parts of the Presidency. Its account indicates that unlike in Madras and in Bengal, the teacher collected his pupils from their homes and conducted them to the school and that the first 'lesson' in the daily life of the school was an invocation which preceded the actual instruction:

> Each morning at about 6 o'clock the Pantoji, who is in some cases a Brahman and the priest of many of the families whose children attend the school, goes round the village and collects his pupils. This process usually occupies some time. At one house, the pupil has to be persuaded to come to school; at another, the parents have some special instructions to give the master regarding the refractoriness of their son; at a third, he is asked to administer chastisement on the spot. As soon as he has collected a sufficient number of his pupils he takes them to the school. For the first half hour a Bhupali, or invocation to the Sun, Saraswati, Ganpati, or some other deity, is chanted by the whole school (BPR, I, 73).

The Committee also stated that the school broke up about 9 or 10 am, and reassembled at 2 pm, that the concluding lesson was given at 4 pm, and that after this lesson, the teacher personally conducted the younger children to their homes (BPR, I, 74).

Of the school-holidays, it wrote:

> The school nominally meets everyday of the week, Sundays included. But the frequent holidays on account of Hindu feasts and fasts, and the closure of the school twice a month on Amavasya or new-moon day and Paurnima or full-moon day, fairly take the place of the weekly and other holidays in English schools. In harvest time also, many of the rural indigenous schools are entirely closed (BPR, I, 74).

The Committee's description of an important school-ceremony associated with the holidays shows in proper light the religious setting of the schools:

> It is still the practice in some indigenous schools, though the custom is rapidly dying out, for the pupils on the eve of Amavasya and Paurnima to perform the ceremony of Patipuja or slate-worship. A quarter of an anna, a betel-nut, half a seer of grain, a little saffron and turmeric, and a few flowers, are laid upon the slate of each pupil as offerings to Saraswati, the Goddess of learning. Before these

> each boy reverently bows down, and then places the slate for a few minutes on his head. The master afterwards appropriates the offerings (BPR, I, 74).

Adam's reports do not refer to the routine of Vernacular schools in Bengal. However, of it, Ward wrote that the Hindu schools began early in the morning, continued till ten after taking some refreshment at home, the scholars returned about three, and continued till dark (Ward, I, 161). The Bengal Provincial Committee reported that boys in these schools generally met morning and evening and worked for about six to seven hours a day with short intervals, and that the schools were open during all seasons of the year, with long vacations in agricultural villages, once during the rains, when the sowing commenced, and again at the harvest (BPR, 70).

Of the routine of Arabic and Persian schools, the Madras and Bombay returns do not contain any data. However, one of the witnesses before the Madras Provincial Committee stated that the maktabkhanas were open daily between 7 and 11 am and also between 2 and 5 pm (MPR, Evidence, 274). The Bengal Provincial Committee reported that they were closed on Fridays and on all Muhammadan holidays (BPR, 70).

Of the routine of maktabs Adam wrote in the context of Nattore:

> In a Persian school, after the years of mere childhood, when the pupils are assumed to be capable of stricter application, the hours of study with intervals extend from six in the morning to nine at night. In the first place in the morning they revise the lessons of the previous day, after which a new lesson is read, committed to memory, and repeated to the master. About midday they have leave of absence for an hour when they dine, and on their return to school they are instructed in writing. About three o'clock they have another reading lesson which is also

> committed to memory, and about an hour before the close of day they have leave to play. The practice with regard to the forenoon and afternoon lessons in reading, is to join the perusal of a work in prose with that of a work in verse; as the Gulistan with the Bostan and Abulfazl's letters with the Secandar Nameh, the forenoon lesson being taken from one and the afternoon lesson from the other. In the evening they repeat the lessons of that day several times, until they have them perfectly at command; and after making some preparation for the lessons of the next day, they have leave to retire. Thursday every week is devoted to the revision of old lessons, and when that is completed the pupils seek instruction or amusement according to their own pleasure in the perusal of forms of prayer and stanzas of poetry, and are dismissed on that day at three o'clock without any new lesson. On Friday, the sacred day of Musalmans, there is no schooling.

Of the routine of the same schools the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee wrote:

> A boy attending one of these schools rises at day-break, goes to school about 7, and returns home at 10 to take his morning meal. He goes back to school at 11, writes a letter on the lesson he reads in the morning till half past 12 and then is allowed to take his noon-day rest till 3 in the afternoon. At 3 he rises from his sleep, and after washing his face and hands revises his morning lesson; then he gets his letter or copying exercise corrected, makes a fair copy of it, shows it to the master, and leaves school at 5 (NWPR, 86).

Adam also described the routine of madrasas, again in the context of Nattore:

> During the period that they are nominally students, their attendance from day to day is equally uncontrolled and unregulated except by their own wishes and convenience... The business of the school commences at six in the morning and continues till eleven, and again at mid-day and continues till four... The weekly periods of vacation are for Arabic students every Tuesday and Friday, and for Persian students every Thursday and Friday; and the annual periods of

> vacation are the whole of the month Ramzan, ten days for the Moharram, and five days at four different periods of the year required by other religious observances (Dibona, 61, 72).

The educational returns and Adam's reports do not contain details of the routine of Sanskrit schools. However, of it Ward wrote:

> The school opens every morning early, by the teacher and pupils assembling in the college hall, or hut, when the different classes come up in turns. At the close of these labours, about three hours are devoted to bathing, worship, eating, and sleep; and at three they resume their studies, which continue till twilight. Nearly two hours are then devoted to evening worship, to eating, smoking, and relaxation; and the studies are afterwards resumed, and continued till ten or eleven at night (Ward, II, 486-7).

The Bengal Provincial Committee also reported that the Sanskrit schools met both morning and evening, and that the usual holidays were the first and eighth days of the moon, with a long vacation commencing from the rains in July down to the end of October (BPR, 71).

5 NATURE OF INSTRUCTION

We use these terms to cover five broad aspects of indigenous education, viz., stages, methods, character, and quality of instruction, and also domestic instruction. Of these, we shall treat together the first two, because of their interrelatedness, and then the second two because of the fact that quality is derived from character.

5.1 Stages and Methods

We referred earlier to Forbes' brief description of 'the oriental manner of instruction' that is, teaching children 'by making letters and figures in sand upon the floor'. Although his description covers only 'dust-writing', an understanding of it will be a good starting point for our present discussion. For, in a full course of elementary instruction dust-writing formed the first stage, while more often than not it also formed the last.

Of the Madras returns only the Bellary and the Masulipatam collectors reported on the stages and methods of Vernacular instruction. The former remarked that "the first business of a child on entering school is to obtain a knowledge of the letters, which he learns by writing them with his finger on the ground in sand". The remarks of the latter were similar: "They are first taught to read the letters, spelling, and the names both common and proper, writing on the sand with their fingers" (Dharampal, 157,179). These remarks clearly indicate dust-writing as the first stage of instruction.

In his letter dated November 22, 1623, sent from Ikkeri in northern Karnataka,[19] Della Valle described this method in greater detail:

> In the meantime, while the burthens were getting in order, I entertained myself in the porch of the Temple, beholding little boys learning arithmetick after a strange manner, which I will here relate. They were four, and having all taken the same lesson from the Master, to get that same by heart, and repeat likewise their former lessons and not forget them; one of them singing musically with a certain continued tone, (which hath the force of making a deep impression in the memory) recited part of the lesson; as, for example, one by itself makes one: and whilst he was thus speaking, he writ down the same number, not with any kind of pen, nor in paper, but (not to spend paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strewed all over with fine sand; after the first had writ what he sung, all the rest sung and writ down the same thing together. Then the first boy sung and writ down another part of the lesson; as, for example, Two by itself makes two; which all the rest repeated in the same manner, and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures, they put them out with the hand, and if need were, strewed it with new sand from a little heap which they had before them wherewith to write further: And thus they did as long as exercise continued; in which manner, likewise they told one, they learnt to read and write without spoiling paper, pens, or ink, which certainly is a pretty way. I asked them, if they happened to forget or be mistaken in any part of the lesson, who corrected and taught them, they being all scholars without the assistance of any Master; they answered me, and said true, that it was not possible for all four of them to forget or mistake in the same part, and that they thus exercised together, to the end, that if one happened to be out, the others might correct him. Indeed a pretty, easie and secure way of learning (Havers, 110-11).

The dust-writing which the Bellary and the Masulipatam Collectors and Della Valle mentioned was, to be more precise, writing with the forefinger of the right hand. This is evident from Bartolomeo's description of education in 18th century Malabar:

> The children assemble half naked under the shade of a coconut tree; place themselves in rows on the ground, and trace out on the sand, with the forefinger of the right hand, the elements of their alphabet, and then smooth it with the left when they wish to trace out other characters. The writing-master, called Agian, or Eluttacien, who stations himself opposite to his pupils, examines what they have done; points out their faults, and shews them how to correct them. At first, he attends them standing; but when the young people have acquired some readiness in writing, he places himself cross-legged on a tyger's or deer's skin, or even on a mat made of the leaves of the coconut-tree, or wild ananas, which is called Kaida, plaited together (Dharampal, 252-3).

Dust-writing in Madras Presidency was followed by writing on cadjan or on paper as the second and last stage of instruction. Of this, the Masulipatam Collector reported:

> When they are perfect in (dust-writing), they are taught the reading of books (Balaramayanum, Amram, etc), on cadjans (useful for the boys) in Sanscrit and Gentoo as well as letters of correspondence, books of mathematics, accounts etc etc according to the pleasure of the relations of the boys (Dharampal,157).

The Bellary Collector gave a more detailed account of this stage of instruction:

> When he becomes pretty dexterous in writing with his finger in sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with an iron style on Cadjan leaves, or with a reed on paper, and sometimes on the leaves of the aristolochia identica, or with a kind of pencil on the Hulligi or Kadata, which answer the purpose of slates. The two latter in these districts are the most common[20].. Having attained a thorough knowledge of the letters, the scholar next learns to write the compounds, or the manner of embodying the symbols of the vowels in the consonants and the formation of syllables etc., then the names of men, villages, animals, etc.. and finally arithmetical signs. He then commits to memory an addition table, and counts from one to a hundred; he afterwards writes easy sums in addition, and subtraction of money; multiplication and the reduction of money, measures, etc. Here great pains are taken.... in teaching him the fractions of an integer, which descend, not by tens as in our decimal fractions, but by fours, and are carried to a great extent (Dharampal, 179-80).

Although Bartolomeo also referred to cadjan-writing, his remarks indicate that it was not necessarily the second stage of instruction in the same school:

> When the pupils have made tolerable progress in writing, they are admitted into certain schools, called Eutupalli, where they begin to write on palm leaves (Pana), which, when several of them are stitched together, and fastened between two boards, form a Grantha, that is an Indian book (Dharampal, 253).

Of the stages and methods of Vernacular instruction in Bombay Presidency, only two of the returns gave any information. Of these, the Dharwar Collector gave only a brief classification of students by the nature of instruction received. However, this classification itself clearly reveals that majority of the students were receiving instruction in dust-writing and that of the few remaining students virtually all were receiving instruction in the three Rs. The other return, by Jervis on South Concern, contains a more detailed account. Of dust-writing, Jervis wrote:

> A month, or even two are usually devoted to the ceremony of tracing the letters, Shree Guneshagynumuhu; after this, come the letters of the alphabet, and the barakuree or twelve combinations of consonants with vowels, and the figures which are learnt as far as 100; certain small portions being written, and their powers learnt from the instructor till all are thoroughly acquired. They then proceed to Multiplication Table, called Lekhe, as far as 10 times 20; after which they write down and commit to memory various tables called Paokee, Neemukee, Paonekee, Suwakee, Deerkee, Ureechkee; which are multiples of fractional parts by integers; and lastly tables of money, weights and measures: These rudiments, having been thoroughly acquired, the children are said to have got through the Doolukshur, or dust-writing (Parulekar, 7).

Jervis did not indicate whether dust-writing was with finger or with pen; but the Bombay Provincial Committee's description of the first lesson in the daily routine of the schools after the Bhupali or invocation mentioned earlier indicates that it was with pen:

> After (the invocation) the boys who can write, trace the letters of their kittas, or copy-slips, with a dry-pen, the object of this exercise being to give free play to the fingers and wrist and to accustom them to the sweep of the letters (BPR, I, 73).

Jervis' subsequent description indicates that unlike in Madras writing in the second and last stage of instruction was only on paper and not on cadjan also:

> (After dust-writing) they proceed to writing on paper, to reading, and arithmetic. For writing they have six copies, all of which are the complimentary Titles of Princes, and men of rank, -- affixed to letters, orders etc and with the exception of the first in the subjoined list, are altogether useless to ninetenths of the children, who receive education. The first however in that list, is most commonly given to the children of every class. They are usually written out by the best writer in the village either for money, or as an act of charity, and kindness. In the first instance the scholars have them written out of them by their instructor and it is usual for them, to trace the form of the letters for some time with a plain wooden pencil. They then go over the letters repeatedly, till the paper is almost perfectly black, and after one or two months they get a new piece of paper, and begin again. At first they write very large, and get to smaller hand by slow degrees. They never alternate their studies but write on paper in the morning, and in the evening either write or learn arithmetic on their sand boards. In arithmetic they proceed through the simple rules of addition, and subtraction called Wujabakee berij; multiplication and division, called Goonakar Begakar; the last of each serving to prove the former and after this, they learn the application of these rules to money, weights and measures. Occasionally a better sort of instructor will teach them a few questions in simple interest, and in the rule of three, and in Goozerat this is common; the Mharattas however never seem to have aspired to such an extent of knowledge. For reading they are but till supplied with means; each boy bringing whatever old papers, his parents may have put into his hands, and getting through them, as well as he is able. These are usually found to be copies of letters of the Peshwah, his Mamlutdars or their inferior agents, or perhaps village accounts, or Caols; and now and then, a tale or romance finds its way to the school but is only of service to the owner (Parulekar, 7-8).

Unlike in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, Vernacular instruction in Bengal Presidency was generally imparted in four stages, each distinguished by the nature of materials used for writing on, viz. the ground, palm-leaf, plantain-leaf, and paper. But like in these two Presidencies dust-writing formed the first stage. Adam reported that writing in this stage was performed on the ground with a small stick or slip of bamboo (Dibona, 54). The Bengal Provincial Committee reported that it was performed with a piece of chalk (BPR, 70). The duration of the first stage was, however, very short. According to Adam it seldom exceeded ten days, and was limited to instruction in the formation of the letters of the alphabet (Dibona, 54).

Of the remaining three stages, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote:

> After the letters have been .... learnt (by writing on the ground), palm-leaves are used as materials for writing on with pen and ink, the first attempt being only to ink off the letters as they are traced by the guru with a pointed iron stylus. The pupils go on with the palm-leaves till they learn to write the compound letters, committing to memory at this stage the multiplication-table, and various fractional tables, and being constantly practised one after another in the several money-tables, weights and measures.... From "palm-leaf" promotion is given to "plantain-leaf", in which Subhankari or native arithmetic is taught. In most of the pathsalas, slates and (in Behar) taktis are also being used. The scholar is now at liberty to take up "paper". He is taught letter-writing, zemindari and mahajani accounts, forms of documents, and the versified Puranic tales, and lastly a little Sanskrit grammar and abhidhan (BPR, 70).

In the context of Nattore Adam gave a detailed account of the course of instruction in each of the remaining three stages. There is no need to go into the details here. Suffice it to say that vernacular instruction extened from $2\frac{1}{2}$ years to 4 years in the second stage, from 2 to 3 years in the third stage, and upto 2 years but often less and seldom more in the fourth and last stage.

In the context of the remaining districts of his survey Adam also brought to light the minor variations in the materials used for writing on: In the few Hindi schools in Moorshedabad instead of palm and plantain leaves wooden boards and brazen plates were used;[21] in the Hindi schools in Beerbhoom while the wooden board was used, the brazen plate was not; in the Bengali schools in the same district, besides the plantain leaf, the leaf of the sal tree was used in the third stage; finally in South Behar and Tirhoot, instead of palm and plantain leaves the wooden board and brazen plates were exclusively used (Dibona, 206,210,216-7). Adam also classfied the scholars in each of these districts by stage of instruction and the nature of materials used for writing on (Table 10).

Table 10: Scholars in Vernacular schools by stage of instruction, Bengal Presidency, 1836-38.

Stage	Materials used for writing on	Beer-bhoom	Behar, South	Burdwan	Moor-sheda-bad	Tirhoot
1	Ground	372 5.83	1506 48.74	702 5.33	71 6.57	250 49.31
2	Palm-leaf	3551 55.63	-	7113 54.05	525 48.61	-
	Wooden-board	19 0.30	1503 48.64	-	35 3.24	172 33.93
3.	Plantain-leaf	298 4.67	-	2765 21.01	3 0.28	-
	Sal-leaf	99 1.55	-	-	-	-
	Brazen-plate	-	42 1.36	-	9 0.83	55 10.85
4	Paper	2044 32.02	39 1.26	2610 19.83	437 40.46	30 5.92
	Total	6383 100.00	3090 100.00	13160 100.00	1080 100.00	507 100.00

Note: The lower figures refer to column percentages. The blanks refer to 'Nils'.

Source: Tabulated from Dibona, 206,210,214,217,219.

Our foregoing discussion of the stages and methods of elementary instruction is mainly with reference to instruction in writing. It is, however, important to note that indigenous instruction in general had two other characteristics as well, viz. first, the method of oral dictation to which the teachers resorted in the absence of printed books and often even manuscripts; and second, the method of rote-learning. Of these it is with rote-learning that indigenous instruction is often identified. It is also rote-learning which is often held against indigenous instruction as a method of memorizing without understanding, without any attempt to train the reasoning powers of the scholars (FPR,33), and as a method which is essentially wrong and which prolonged indefinitely the course of study (Beauchamp,377). This method predominated not only vernacular instruction, but instruction in the Arabic and Persian, and in the Sanskrit schools as well.

Of the stages and methods of instruction in the Arabic and Persian schools in Madras Presidency we do not have any data. But, of the same in the Bombay Presidency, Jervis wrote:

> In the Mahometan schools, they go through the ceremony of reading the Bismillah for a day or two; they then proceed to the letters, and their combinations, which half accomplished they at once go to the Chapters of the Koran on Praise and Prayer, and rest of that Book after it; after this they take any book that may fall in their way, but the books they read are chiefly religious books. For writing they have generally badly written copies, which in some few schools they copy after the Hindoo method, but almost invariably copy after the European method, with this difference only, that they write on boards, with a white or blueish ground, prepared with chalk or paint. (Parulekar, 8).

Jervis felt that Muhammadans did not learn so much by rote as Hindus (Parulekar, 11); but the Surat Judge reported the contrary: "With the Moohumudans almost all the children are taught to repeat by rote sentences of the Koran" (Parulekar, 67). The Bombay Provincial Committee also reported that as a general rule the pupils in mosque-schools simply

learned to read the words of the Koran and to commit portions of it to memory (BPR, I, 71).

Of instruction in the Arabic and Persian schools in the Bengal Presidency, Adam pointed out in the context of the Persian schools in Nattore that the general course of instruction had no very marked stages or gradations, and that at school the alphabet was taught 'by the eye and ear' with the forms of the letters presented to the student in writing and their names pronounced in his hearing, which he was required to repeat until he was able to connect the forms with each other in his mind. His account of the subsequent excercises in instruction is relevant to note here:

> The scholar is afterwards made to read the thirtieth section of the Koran, the chapters of which are short and are generally used at the times of prayer and in the burial service. The words are marked with the diacritical points in order that the knowledge of letters, their junction and correct orthography, and their pronunciation from the appropriate organs may be thoroughly acquired; but the sense is entirely unknown. The next book put into his hands is the Pandnameh of Sadi, a collection of moral sayings, many of which are above his comprehension, but he is not taught or required to understand any of them. The work is solely used for the purpose of instructing him in the art of reading and of forming a correct pronunciation, without any regard to the sense of the words pronounced. It is generally after this that the scholar is taught to write the letters, to join vowels and consonants, and to form syllables. The next book is the Amadnameh, exhibiting the forms of conjugating the Persian verbs which are read to the master and by frequent repetition committed to memory. The first book which is read for the purpose of being understood is the Gulistan of Sadi, containing lessons on life and manners, and this is followed or accompanied by the Bostan of the same author. Two or three sections of each are read; and simultaneously short Persian sentences relating to going and coming, sitting and standing, and the common affairs of life, are read and explained. The pupil is afterwards made to write Persian names, then Arabic names, and next Hindi names, especially such as contain letters to the writing or pronounciation of which difficulty is supposed to attach. Elegant penmanship is considered a great accomplishment, and those who devote themselves to this art employ from three to six hours every day in the exercise of it,

> writing first single letters, then double or treble, then couplets, quatrains, etc. They first write upon a board with a thick pen, then with a finer pen on pieces of paper pasted together, and last of all when they have acquired considerable command of the pen, they begin to write upon paper in a single fold. This is accompanied or followed by the perusal of some of the most popular poetical productions...[22] The mode of computing by the Abjad, or letters of the alphabet, is also taught and is of two sorts; in the first the letters of the alphabet in the order of the Abjad being taken to denote units, tens, and hundreds to a thousand; and in the second the letters composing the names of the letters of the alphabet being employed for the same purpose. Arithmetic, by means of the Arabic numerals, and instruction at great length in the different styles of address and in the forms of correspondence, petitions, etc etc complete a course of Persian instruction (Dibona, 59-60).

Of the stages and methods of instruction in the Sanskrit schools in Madras Presidency we do not have any data; but of the same in Bombay Presidency the Bombay Provincial Committee wrote in the context of Veda schools:

> The instruction given in these schools is limited to a correct recitation of the sacred text. The pupil reads each passage aloud to the guru, who carefully corrects his mistakes, and when the youth has accurately apprehended the words, he commits them to memory. No detailed explanation is given of the subject-matter; and much of what is learnt, is not understood by the pupil (BPR, I, 71).

Of the stages and methods of instruction in the Sanskrit schools in Bengal Presidency, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote in the context of grammar schools:

> In tols where grammar is taught, the beginner first commits to memory (as under Jacotot's system) a certain classical work, or part of it. Explanation is not given until that part has been fully committed to memory. Constant exercises in past lessons are kept up.... In higher tols lectures are given, accompanied by explanation of the text-books, the lectures being relieved every now and then by recourse to the interrogative method....On the weekly holidays new lessons are prohibited, and those are the days set apart for the revision of old lessons (BPR 70-1)

Closely related to the methods were the organisational aspects of indigenous instruction. One of these was the monitorial system. We do not have adequate data on the nature, spread and utility of this system, though available information indicates that it was an all-India phenomenon. Of its prevalence in Madras Presidency, the Bellary Collector wrote in the context of the daily routine of the Vernacular schools:

> The lower (scholars of the classes) are placed partly under the care of monitors, whilst the higher ones are more immediately under the superintendence of the Master, who at the same time has his eye upon the whole school (Dharampal, 179).

One of the witnesses before the Madras Provincial Committee gave a more detailed account of this monitorial system:

> Every school had its pupil-teacher or Sattanpillei who filled the place of the school-master in his absence, who repeated his lessons, and even taught boys less advanced.
>
> In those schools, chiefly when they were more numerous, the method of mutual instruction was much in use. That is, the boys, according to their degree of proficiency, were divided into several groups at the head of which was a more learned boy who repeated the lessons of the master, and made the boys to repeat what they had learned. So in some schools were seen five, six, etc of those groups, learning, and repeating their lessons under the mere supervision of the school-master. In this way a good school-master was able to keep and to teach a large number of boys, viz. 60,70, and 80 (MPR,Evidence,121).

Of the prevalence of the monitorial system in Bombay Presidency we get some idea from our discussion of the management of large schools in Gujarat, from the observations of the Ahmedabad Judge and of the Ahmedabad Collector. We also get some idea of it from the Bombay Provincial Committee's description of the routine of the Vernacular schools:

> When the tracing-lesson is over the boys begin to write copies; and the youngest children, who have been hitherto merely looking on are taken in hand either by the master's son or by one of the elder pupils. The master himself generally confines his attention to one or two of the oldest pupils and to those whose instruction he has stipulated to to finish within a given time (BPR, I, 73).

That the monitorial system was not confined to Hindu schools but prevailed in Muhammadan schools as well is evident from Jervis' observations that in larger Muhammadan schools a scholar very much advanced beyond his companions assisted his teacher (Parulekar, 8).

Of the monitorial system in the Bengal Presidency, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote:

> The method of instruction is still the same that struck Dr Bell in 1793, in a Madras pathsala, and which inspired the Bell and Lancaster system, afterwards so popular in England. The direct teaching of the children is conducted by monitors or pupil-teachers, and compact divisions of classes are not made (BPR, 69).

The Committee also pointed out that in tols where grammar was taught the Pandit generally taught only the advanced pupils, who in their turn taught their juniors (BPR, 71).

The second aspect related to the methods of instruction was the exercise in memorising, which was in keeping with the method of rote-learning itself. Of this exercise in Madras Presidency, the Bellary Collector wrote:

> In order that these fractions, together with the arithmetical table, in addition, multiplication, and those on the threefold measures of capacity, weight, and extent, may be rendered quite familiar to the minds of the scholars, they are made to stand up twice a day, in rows, and repeat the whole after one of the monitors (Dharampal, 180).

Of its prevalence in Bombay Presidency, Jervis observed:

> Before the children are dismissed in the evening, they all stand up in a posture of reverence, and go through the Purwuttees, which is to repeat all the Doolukshur or elements of their instruction, and wind up the ceremony by singing a prayer or rather a song, which is so difficult of comprehension, being nearly two thirds Sungskrit that it would be wholly useless however replete it might be with good sense, a recommendation however, which it does not appear to possess (Parulekar,8).

The observations of the Bombay Provincial Committee on the concluding lesson given at 4 pm each day were similar:

> For (the concluding lesson) the boys are ranged in two rows facing each other, while two of the older pupils are stationed at one end between the two rows and dictate the multiplication- tables, step by step, for the rest of the boys to shout after them in chorus. When this is over the school is dismissed... (BPR,I,74).

Of the same exercise in Bengal Presidency, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote that every evening before the pathsala broke up all the children stood together and repeated the multiplication-table simultaneously in chorus, or sometimes they followed a monitor's lead (BPR,70).

The third aspect related to the methods of instruction was organisational. In his description of the routine of the Vernacular schools the Bellary Collector remarked:

> When the whole are assembled, the scholars according to their number and attainments, are divided into several classes... The number of classes is generally four; and a scholar rises from one to the other, according to his capacity and progress (Dharampal,179).

These remarks indicate that ordering of schools was not altogether absent. But Dubois observed in the context of Sanskrit schools that there was no regular plan of

instruction and that instruction was carried on without any definite system or any attempt at discipline which he considered as elements absolutely necessary to give to the studies a character of permanence and uniformity (Beauchamp,377). In the context of Muhammadan schools Jervis mentioned that although students sometimes seated in classes, this did not originate from any attempt at order, but to distinguish boys more advanced so that their instruction was paid for at a higher rate(Parulekar,8).

In the context of grammar schools, the Bengal Provincial Committee pointed out that the systematic division of pupils into classes was not enforced, though where the same lessons were received by several pupils they formed into a class by themselves and helped each other (BPR, 70-1).

Stating that the schools were crowded, noisy, and ill-regulated, the Bombay Provincial Committee wrote about the Vernacular schools:

> All the pupils are seated in one small room or verandah, and the confusion of sounds, which arises from three or four sets of boys reading and shouting out their tables all at the same moment, almost baffles description. One of the Educational Inspectors writes: "Each pupil recites at the top of his voice and the encouragement to noise is found in the fact that the parents often compute the energy of the master from the volume of sound proceeding from the school. This is no exaggeration. I have myself heard villagers complain that our Government schools lack the swing and energy of the indigenous schools" (BPR,I,73).

The Committee's views on the disorder in Muhammadan schools were similar:

> In rural districts the school children are to be seen seated before a Mulla on the raised veranda of a mosque, all reading aloud at the same moment from the books in front of them and swaying their bodies to-and-fro as they read. The noise and confusion of this performance does not seem to strike the teacher as objectionable. But this is not perhaps to be wondered at, as he is usually an almost illiterate man, being barely able to read and wholly unable to write (BPR,I,71).

5.2 Character and Quality

It should by now be clear to us, especially from our discussion of the inseparableness of education from religion that, like any other traditional society, Pre-British or early British Indian society could not have had any type of education devoid of religious content. But, viewed in the light of our discussion of the major steps in the secularisation of Vernacular schools, it should not be too surprising either that instruction in these schools was chiefly secular. Of this secular character, the Education Commission wrote:

> (In) the ordinary Hindu pathsala religious instruction may or may not find a place. In the indigenous schools of Bengal, many of which are taught by Kayasthas, no religious instruction is given, but in Western and Southern India a short prayer or the recitation of sacred verses often forms part of the school course. Still, even where religion is taught in Hindu elementary schools, secular subjects are the chief part of the course (ECR,64).

In terms of the content of instruction these schools were, what may be termed 'multiplication' schools, inasmuch as their main purpose was the teaching of multiplication-tables.

Of the Madras returns the Bellary, Canara, Cuddapah, Masulipatam, North Arcot, Rajamundry, and Seringapatam returns refer to reading, writing, and arithmetic as the content of instruction in the Vernacular schools. Although the Guntur and South Arcot returns refer to reading and writing only, arithmetic might have accounted for a major part of both (Dharampal, 88,94,128-9,145,157,179-80,190,206,222).

No doubt, these details alone are too inadequate to judge the character and quality of instruction, an inadequacy which the Court of Directors in England rightly lamented:

A point of very great importance and on which we hoped that considerable information would be afforded by the Reports of the Collectors is the character of the books in which reading is taught. From this you would have learned two things, which it would have been desirable to know, namely, first, the quantity of useful information which the children are enabled incidentally to acquire while learning to read, and next, the mode of adapting as far as it might be expedient, the school books which you may cause to be prepared, to the previous habits... and associations of the people. The character however of the books used in the schools, was a subject which the generality of the Collectors do not seem to have thought it within their province to enquire into. The appendix to the Report of the Committee of the School Book Society appears to have contained some information of the kind required, but this is not recorded on your consultations. And we regret that you did not from the first include this among the subjects marked out for enquiry, and afterwards when you found that it had been overlooked by the Collectors, that you did not require them to furnish special reports on this particular point (PDE, 136, 1828).

Despite this inadequacy, the references to Balaramayanam, and Amarakosam in the Masulipatam and Nellore returns, and to as many as 43 books in the Rajamundry return,[23] and the following description of the works used in Bellary district clearly bring out the secular and religious elements in Vernacular instruction:

The three books which are most common in all the schools, and which are used indiscriminately by the several casts, are the _Ramayanum_, _Maha Bharata_, and _Bhagvata_; but the children of the manufacturing class of people have in addition to the above, books peculiar to their own religious tenets; such as the _Nagalingayna Kutha_, _Vishvakurma Poorana_, _Kumalesherra Kalikamahata_; and those who wear the Dingum such as the _Busvapoorana_, _Raghavankunkauya_, _Geeroja Kullana_, _Unabhavamoorta_, _Chenna Busavaswara Poorana_, _Gurilagooloo_, etc., which are all considered sacred, and are studied with a view of subserving their several religious creeds.
The lighter kind of stories which are read for amusement, are generally the _Punchatantra_, _Bhatalapunchavansatee_, _Punklee Soopocktahuller_, _Mahantarungenee_. The books on the principles of the vernacular languages themselves, are the several dictionaries and grammars, such as the _Nighantoo_, _Umara_, _Subdamumbured_, _Shubdoemunee_

> Durpana, Vyacurna Andradeepeca, Andhranamasungraha etc etc., but these last, and similar books, which are most essential, and, without which, no accurate or extensive knowledge of the vernacular languages can be attained, are, from the high price of manuscripts and the general poverty of the masters, of all books, the most uncommon in the Native Schools; and such of them which are found there are in consequence of the ignorance, carelessness, and indolence of copyists in general, full of blunders, and in every way most incorrect and imperfect (Dharampal, 180-1).

Of these secular and religious elements the secular elements predominated the overall course of instruction. This is evident from the following remarks of the Cuddapah Sub-Collector:

> As instruction amongst the natives here, is encouraged and promoted solely in proportion to the personal profit obtainable by it, the course of education is considered complete when the scholar becomes a proficient in writing and arithmetic. He is then taken from school, all other accomplishments are learned at home, and he arrives at experience, and attains improvements in what he has already acquired, only by attending his father's shop and writing his accounts, or by being permitted to qualify himself for employment by volunteering his services in our public kutcheries.

It is further evident from the remarks of the Seringapattam Collector that "nothing more is professed to be taught in these day-schools than reading, writing, and arithmetic, just competent for the discharge of the common daily transactions of society." Finally it is also evident from the following remarks of the North Arcot Collector:

> (In) the course of five or six years (scholars) are generally found sufficiently forward to commence by assisting in the preparation or copying of the accounts, according to their different walks in life, sometimes as Volunteers in the public Cutcheries or in the situations with Curnums, Shroffs, Merchants or others, whence they graduate to situations in the public service or their hereditary occupations (Dharampal, 94, 128-9, 222).

While the quality of instruction is also implied in these observations, it is more explicit in some other returns. For instances, the Canara Collector remarked that in his district education was undoubtedly at its lowest ebb. The Chingleput Collector reported that for the most part attendance was very irregular; that few of the school-masters were acquainted with the grammar of the language which they professed to teach, and that neither the master nor scholars understood the meaning of the sentences which they repeated. The Rajamundry Collector remarked that the actual state of education was anything but satisfactory, while the Salem Collector felt that the state of education was defective (Dharampal, 89,144,190,204-5).

The Court of Directors also dwelt at length on the quality of instruction:

> These returns we have now received...confirm the opinion which we previously entertained, concerning the very imperfect state of native education. The proportion of the population to which even the elements of a scholastic education are given is not very considerable and although in conformity with the apprehensions which we formerly expressed, your information is far more defective in regard to the quality of the instruction than in regard to the number of persons instructed, it is yet sufficiently complete to show that in providing the means of a better education for the natives, little aid is to be expected from the instruments of education which already exist...
>
> Mr.Campbell, the late Collector of Bellary, is the only one among the Collectors from whom much information has been derived concerning the quality of the instruction given at the elementary schools. According to his report it appears that reading and writing are required in his district solely with a view to the transaction of business, for which purpose a familiarity with the character being sufficient, the books which are read and got by heart are in the same character, but not in the same dialect, and are entirely unintelligible to the scholars. In this collectorate, therefore at least in learning to read nothing whatever is learnt except reading, and with the exception of writing and a little arithmetic, the education of the great majority goes no farther.

> Though the mode of teaching at the schools in the other Collectorates may not precisely resemble that in Bellary, we have no great expectation that it would prove to be much better. For although the school books may not in other Districts be written in a language which the pupils do not comprehend, yet the difficulties which you have experienced in providing fit books would be a sufficient proof to us, if we needed any, of the extreme unfitness of nearly all those which are at present used (PDE, 136A, 1828).

The secretary of the managing committee of the Madras School Book Society prepared a report on the state of education, based on his stay of some months in Bangalore at about the same time as of the Madras educational enquiries. This report also gives a general idea of the quality of instruction:

> In this country, education is confined to a very small portion of the people who are considered as the higher class, and except in a few instances, it never reaches beyond instruction in reading and writing and the simple rules of arithmetic, and even the few who may be desirous of extending their knowledge further, necessarily labour under great difficulties from want of competent teachers, suitable books of instruction and a very systematic method of education. The lower orders in the class of labourers etc who form the greater part of the population are lamentably sunk in ignorance without a single gleam of knowledge to enlighten their own minds (RC, 314, 1826).

Classifying the indigenous schools in Bombay Presidency into religious, partly religious, and secular, and treating the Vernacular schools as the only secular schools, the Bombay Provincial Committee remarked:

> These institutions, which, as we have shown are peculiar to the Hindus, are all primary vernacular schools, in which the medium of instruction is Marathi, Gujarathi, Banya-Sindhi, or Kanarese, according to the province in which the schools are established. The subjects of study vary considerably in different schools. Many schools teach only writing; others only writing and multiplication-tables (BPR, I, 72).

These remarks indicate that the character and quality of instruction in these schools were essentially the same as

in the Madras Presidency. The Bombay returns reveal this more clearly. For instance, in Surat district instruction was limited to simple arithmetic. After an examination of the students in the Surat schools, the Collector reported:

> A number of the children perhaps one third, know nothing beyond a simple kind of arithmetic got by rote such as five quarters are one and a quarter, six quarters are one and a half, eight quarters are two and so on in this way (Parulekar 62-3).

In the Adalat stations of Broach and Kaira instruction was limited to elementary reading and writing: "The learning taught at these seminaries is nothing more than an elementary knowledge of a spelling writing and cyphering" were the remarks of the Broach Judge. "Education never extends beyond the first rudiments of reading and writing", were those of the Kaira Judge (Parulekar, 75,82).

In the Adalat stations of Ahmedabad, North Concan and Surat, instruction comprised elementary reading and writing, and simple arithmetic. Thus the remarks of the Ahmedabad Judge that "nothing whatever... is taught, but reading and writing with the first rules of arithmetic"; of the North Concan Judge that "writing and repeating the almost endless arithmetical tables, many of them of no practical use and writing and reading the common forms of letters and petitions make the principal and almost the only business of the school"; and of the Surat Judge that:

> Years are consumed in ringing the changes upon the alphabet, learning the first rules of arithmetic and a little bad writing -- nothing more can be more contemptible than the instruction given at these schools; -- it goes to no end to speak of -- no information, no ideas are gained -- the education is carried on and completed if it can be called, without the most remote view to foundation being laid for the acquirement of knowledge or of mental improvement -- the masters are ignorant, and in fact, as to knowledge to be gained from books, have as much to learn as the boys themselves (Parulekar, 58,68,96).

In the districts of Ahmedabad, Ahmednagar, Broach, Dharwar, Kaira, Khandesh, Poona, and South Concan also instruction comprised only elementary reading and writing, and simple arithmetic. The Ahmednagar, Broach, Kaira, Khandesh, and Poona Collectors did not report anything more. But the other Collectors gave more details. Thus, the Ahmedabad Collector reported that instruction in his district comprised 15 lessons in simple arithmetic, followed by reading, writing, instruction in weights and measures, and in moral and religious principles. The Dharwar Collector stated that of the educated, one-half were not advanced beyond the mere elements of reading, that the remaining with the exception of about fifty who read Jayamony and other books were merely taught to read, and write and to cast up accounts, that even this knowledge was defective, and that education in the Collectorate was at its lowest ebb. The Kaira Collector observed that the attainments of the teachers were generally confined to all that was taught, viz. a knowledge of reading, writing, and accounts. The Poona Collector remarked that "the knowledge of (the) Puntojees is very circumscribed; they seldom are able to communicate above one half of it to their pupils, either from the mode of instruction being bad, the Puntojee careless, or the desultory and unconnected mode in which his pupils attend him, or from all these causes in turn." Finally stating that the learning acquired was a scanty knowledge of the first rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, generally insufficient for the humblest walks of life, Jervis wrote:

> (But) morality, the exercise of reason, the sharpening and enlarging the faculties of the mind, are never so much as thought of, so that as long as men's minds are entertained with the hopes of preferment or encouragement, for the readier use of their reasoning faculties, the display of greater cunning, or the propounding and explaining of the sacred laws and literature of their country, so long may we expect to find the scanty pittance of knowledge attained through this system, turned to the best account.... The teachers are like many of the same class of men in Europe, often indigent and most commonly ignorant, without a single incitement

> to excel as in our own country, either through competition, greater patience and talent or more exemplary virtue (Parulekar, 4, 20, 74, 78, 89-93, 107, 136).

Of Vernacular instruction in its pristine form in Bengal Presidency, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote:

> In their palmiest days,... the pathsalas never taught much beyond the simple elements. They taught reading, writing, and arithmetic in the vernacular, together with precepts of morality, as embodied in compilations and enforced by Puranic legends. Grammar, Abhidhan, and Kavya, in Sanskrit, were also taught to the most advanced students of the superior castes. The pathsalas were the secular elementary schools of the country (BPR, 1).

Later the Committee also described the instruction as it existed in late 19th century:

> The pathsalas teach the vernacular of the different districts in which they are situated -- Bengali in Bengal, Hindi in Behar and Chota Nagpore, and Uriya in Orissa... Generally speaking, the subjects of indigenous pathsala instruction are writing, reading, arithmetic and accounts, zemindari papers, and letter-writing, together with versified Puranic tales, and in Behar versified heroic legends as well (BPR, 69).

The Committee's observations indicate that the character and quality of Vernacular instruction in the Bengal Presidency was broadly the same as in the other two Presidencies. Adam's reports bring this out more clearly.

In the context of Nattore Adam described a full course of Vernacular instruction as it was intended to be taught by the teachers, or to paraphrase his statement, as the amount of their pretensions. Briefly, this comprised reading, writing, and accounts, followed by instruction in the composition of business letters, petitions, grants, leases, acceptances, notes of hand, etc., together with the forms of addresses belonging to the different grades of rank and station. The course of instruction in accounts included agricultural and

commercial accounts into which the arithmetical rules taught divided themselves after addition and subtraction. Of these two branches of accounts Adam wrote:

> The rules applied to agricultural accounts explain the forms of keeping debit and credit accounts; the calculation of the value of daily or monthly labour at a given monthly or annual rate; the calculation of the area of land whose sides measure a given number of Kathas or bighas; the description of the boundaries of land and the determination of its length, breadth, and contents; and the form of revenue accounts for a given quantity of land... The rules of commercial accounts explain the mode of calculating the value of a given number of sers at a given price per maund; the price of a given number of quarters and chataks at a given price per ser; the price of a tola at a given rate per chatak; the number of cowries in a given number of annas at a given number of cowries per rupee; the interest of money; and the discount chargeable on the exchange of the inferior sort of rupees (Dibona, 55-6).

As against this intended course of instruction, Adam's survey revealed the limited utmost scope of the actual course of instruction, with several gradations in the attainments of the teachers and in the instruction they imparted. He found that all the teachers did not even pretend to teach the whole of what he described, that though most of them appeared to have only a very superficial acquintance with either agricultural or commercial accounts, all of them invariably taught either of them, though only some taught both, and only some taught either or both with written works[24] (Table 11).

Table 11: Vernacular schools by branch of learning, Bengal Presidency, 1835-38.

Sl. No.	Branch of learning	Beerbhoom	Behar, South	Burdwan	Moorshedabad	Nattore	Tirhoot
1	Agricultural accounts only	47 11.41	20 7.02	3 0.48	14 20.90	-	4 5.00
2	Commercial accounts only	35 8.50	36 12.63	1 0.16	4 5.97	-	3 3.75
3	Agricultural and commercial accounts only	316 76.70	229 80.35	186 29.57	10 14.92	-	58 72.50
4	Agricultural accounts and written works only	-	-	2 0.32	-	7 58.33	4 5.00
5	Commercial accounts and written works only	1 0.24	-	1 0.16	3 4.48	2 16.67	1 1.25
6	Agricultural and commercial accounts and written works	12 2.91	-	423 67.25	36 53.73	3 25.00	10 12.50
7	Christian instruction	1 0.24	-	13 2.07	-	-	-
	Total	412 100.00	285 100.00	629 100.00	67 100.00	12 100.00	80 100.00

Note: 1 Adam did not include in his classification 2 schools in South Behar which used written works; and 14 schools in Moorshedabad in which the Sanskrit verses of Chanakya were used.

2 The lower figures refer to column percentages. The blanks refer to 'Nils'.

Source: Tabulated from, Dibona, 134-51; 206-7, 211, 214, 217, 219.

Adam was highly critical of the nature of instruction so obtained in the districts of his survey. In the context of Nattore he wrote:

> Although improvements might no doubt be made both in the modes and in the matter of instruction, yet the chief evils in the system of common Bengali schools consist less in the nature of that which is taught or in the manner of teaching it, as in the absence of that which is not taught at all. The system is bad because it is greatly imperfect. What is taught should, on the whole, continue to be taught, but something else should be added to it in order to constitute it a system of salutary popular instruction. No one will deny that a knowledge of Bengali writing and of native accounts is requisite to natives of Bengal; but when these are made the substance and sum of popular instruction and knowledge, the popular mind is necessarily cabined, cribbed, and confined within the smallest possible range of ideas, and those of the most limited local and temporary interest, and it fails even to acquire those habits of accuracy and precision which the exclusive devotion to forms of calculation might seem fitted to produce (Dibona, 57).

Ward was also highly critical of this instruction. In the Preface to his work he wrote:

> A Hindoo school is a mere shop, in which, by a certain process, the human being is prepared to act as a copying machine, or as a lythographic press. The culture of the mind is never contemplated in these seminaries. Hence Hindoo youths, though of a capacity exceedingly quick, never find the means of enlarging and strengthening the faculties. The bud withers as soon as it is ready to expand.
>
> Destitute, therefore, of all that is reclaiming in his education, of all that contributes to the formation of good dispositions and habits, these youths herd together for mutual corruption. Destitute of knowledge themselves, the parents, the tutors, can not impart to others that which they themselves have never received; human nature takes its unrestrained course, and, whatever is in the human heart receives an unbounded gratifications(Ward I, Preface, xxxv).

In the introduction he again dwelt on the issue:

> The excercises of the village school exhibit an exclusive concern for secular interests, without the least reference to the enlargement of the mind. A Hindoo has not the most distant idea that schools ought to inculcate morals and the first principles of religion. It is by mere accident that the names of the gods, mingled with other names, form a spelling lesson: a school master, in the same manner as a head servant, is termed a sirkar; he teaches a certain art, useful in obtaining a livelihood (Ward, I, Introduction, xix).

In sharp contrast to the chiefly secular character of Vernacular instruction, instruction in the Arabic and Persian schools was chiefly religious. Stating that "the theocratic principle, which lies at the root of Asiatic civilisation, necessasarily moulded the character of the high schools in which the upper classes of Hindu and Muhammadan society educated their children" (ECR, 58), the Education Commission directed its attention to the essentially religious character of the elementary Arabic and Persian schools:

> "Government and religion are twins," is a common saying of the Muhammadans; and their schools for the masses are hardly less religious than their madrasas.... Their course of instruction in secular subjects is very limited. Arithmetic, grammar, and geography are almost neglected. Another disadvantage under which Muhammadan elementary schools have laboured has been their neglect of the vernacular. Urdu and a little Persian are exclusively taught, even where the community have adopted, as they have in Bengal proper and in the Gujarathi Districts of Bombay and elsewhere, the vernacular language of the Hindus (ECR, 65).

The Madras returns do not indicate the existence of any advanced Arabic and Persian schools in the Presidency. From the evidence bearing upon Muhammadan education and from the absence of any mention in the Madras Provincial Report, the Education Commission also concluded that there were no such schools. Even of the elementary schools the references contained in some of the Madras returns are limited to the number of schools and do not cover the nature of instruction.

However, we get a brief idea of the nature of instruction from the statement of one of the witnesses before the Madras Provincial Committee that almost all the districts of Madras Presidency contained some indigenous maktabkhanas under the tution and management of Monzzins or Kazis who imparted instruction in the Al-Koran, Char Dervesh, Karima, Amadan, etc., and that in such schools arithmetic and other subjects attractive in ordinary schools were utterly neglected owing to the incompetency of the teachers (MPR, Evidence, 274). From these observations, from the books taught in the Persian schools in Rajamundy[25] and from the evidence bearing upon Muhammadan education in the other two Presidencies, we may assume that Arabic and Persian instruction in Madras Presidency was essentially elementary and religious.

Of Arabic and Persian instruction in Bombay Presidency the Bombay Provincial Committee wrote:

> The Muhammadan schools, besides teaching the Arabic-Koran, give elementary instruction in Persian and in Hindustani or Arabic-Sindhi. The pupils, however, are rarely taught anything except reading, writing, and notation. Arithmetical tables and the four simple rules of arithmetic, which constitute the greater part of the curriculum of the Hindu primary secular schools are almost universally neglected. So also are grammar, geography, and history. Still the central fact that a moral and literary work like the Kuran forms the chief subject of study in every Muhammadan school, should not be overlooked (BPR, I, 72).

The Bombay returns do not shed more light on Arabic and Persian instruction. If anything, some of them only confirm its essentially elementary and religious character. Thus, the remarks of the Dharwar Collector that in Persian schools Persian books such as Kareema were taught; of Khandesh Collector that the Muhammadan schools taught Persian, and now and then a smattering of Arabic; of North Concan Judge that "almost the whole of the attention of the pupils is directed to the reading of the Koran in Arabic and the formulas of the Musselman religion"; of Jervis on South Concan that moral instruction,

at least as enjoined by Muhammadan religion, was the leading feature of Muhammadan education which was mostly confined to Koran and other religious books; and of Surat Judge that "with the Moohummudans almost all the children are taught to repeat by rote sentences of the Koran" (Parulekar,11,58,67,101,149).

Although the Surat Judge reported on the Borah madrasa or Arabic College at Surat, he did not indicate the course of instruction in it. However, the Bombay Provincial Committee reported that the curriculum in it used to be an extensive one. The Committee also reported that there were in all six madrasas in Bombay Presidency where the teaching was essentially religious. chiefly directed to the interpretation of the Koran, though incidentally the pupils' studies extended to Arabic as well (BPR,I,71).

The Bengal Provincial Committee reported that the maktabs in Bengal Presidency taught Urdu everywhere, with a little Persian, and part of the Koran Sharif, the Alif Laila and Chahar Dervish, and in addition to them the Persian Gulistan and Bostan etc. in Behar and Orissa (BPR,69-70). Adam's reports shed more light on the instruction in these and in the advanced Muhammadan schools.

In the context of Nattore Adam wrote that a full course of Persian instruction covered instruction in the Persian language and literature through the medium of Urdu, beginning with the Pandnameh of Sadi (collection of moral sayings), the Amadname (exhibiting the forms of conjugating the Persian verbs) the Gulistan of Sadi,(containing lessons on life and manners) and Bostan of the same author, and going on to the most popular poetical productions such as Joseph and Zuleikha (founded on a well-known incident in Hebrew history), the loves of Leila and Majnu, the Secandar Nameh (an account of the exploits of Alexander the Great), etc. The course also embraced some slight instruction in the grammar of the language, and in the forms of letter-writing and rules of composition (Dibona,60,135).

Adam, however, found that the course was very superficially taught in Rajshahi district including in the 4 Persian schools in Nattore, and that some of the teachers did not even profess to carry their pupils beyond the Gulistan and Bostan. Despite this, he found that, even in this less perfect form, the course of instruction had a more comprehensive character and a more liberal tendency than in the Bengali schools:

> The systematic use of books, although in manuscript, is a great step in advance, accustoming the minds of the pupils to forms of regular composition, to correct and elegant language, and to trains of consecutive thought, and thus aiding both to stimulate the intellect and to form the taste (Dibona, 61).

Adam found that teachers of the Persian schools were also intellectually of a higher grade than those in Bengali schools, though that grade was not high compared to what was to be desired and attainable. Although Persian instruction and instructors were thus intellectually superior to what obtained in Bengali schools, he did not find any moral superiority:

> It might be supposed that the moral bearing of some of the textbooks would have a beneficial effect on the character of the pupils; but as far as I have been able to observe or ascertain, those books are employed like all the rest solely for the purpose of conveying lessons in language -- lessons in the knowledge of sounds and words, in the construction of sentences, or in anecdotical information, but not for the purpose of sharpening the moral perceptions or strengthening the moral habits. This in general native estimation does not belong to the business of instruction, and it never appears to be thought of or attempted. Others will judge from their own observation and experience whether the Musalman character as we see it in India, has been formed or influenced by such a course of instruction. The result of my own observations is that of two classes of persons, one exclusively educated in Mohammadan, and the other in Hindu literature, the former appears to me to possess an intellectual superiority; but the moral superiority does not seem to exist (Dibona, 61-2).

This lack of moral superiority was reflected in his view of the teachers as well:

> Morally, they appear to have as little notion as Bengali teachers of the salutary influence they might exercise on the dispositions and characters of their pupils (Dibona, 58-9).

Adam reported that the eleven elementary Arabic schools which existed in Nattore were "for instruction in the formal or ceremonial reading of certain passages of the Koran", that the teachers were all _Kath Mollas_, that is, "the lowest grade of Musalman priests who chiefly derive their support from the ignorance and superstition of the poor classes of their co-religionists", that the scholars were in training for the same office; and that viewed as places of instruction no institution could be "more insignificant and useless, and in every respect less worthy of notice than these Arabic schools" (Dibona, 62-3).

In his report on the remaining five districts, Adam did not classify Arabic and Persian schools into elementary and advanced. Instead, he treated them as one class. His explanation for this was that both were intimately connected and both almost imperceptibly passed into each other:

> The Arabic teacher teaches Persian also in the same school and to the same pupils; and an Arabic school is sometimes known from a Persian school only by having a single Arabic scholar studying the most elementary Arabic work while all other scholars read Persian. The same scholars who are now studying Arabic formerly read or may still be reading Persian in the same school and under the same teacher; and the scholars in an Arabic school who are now reading Persian only will probably in the same school and under the same teacher advance to the study of Arabic. The only distinction that can be drawn is that while there is no Arabic teacher who does not or may not teach Persian, there are many Persian teachers who do not and cannot teach Arabic (Dibona, 256).

Of the course of instruction in these schools he wrote:

> In Persian schools elementary and grammatical works, forms of correspondence, and popular poems, and tales are chiefly read: occasionally a work on rhetoric or

> a treatise on theology or medicine is also met with. In the Arabic schools the course of study takes a much wider range. The grammatical works are numerous, systematized, and profound; complete courses of reading on rhetoric, logic, and law are embraced; the external observances and fundamental doctrines of Islam are minutely studied; the works of Euclid on geometry and Ptolemy on astronomy in translation are not unknown; other branches of natural philosophy are also taught; and the whole course is crowned by the perusal of treatises on metaphysics deemed the highest attainment of the instructed scholar. Perhaps we shall not err widely if we suppose that the state of learning amongst the Musalmans of India resembles that which existed among the nations of Europe before the invention of printing (Dibona,259).

As in the case of Nattore, Adam observed that Persian teachers as a class were much superior in intelligence to the Bengali and Hindi teachers. Since the Arabic teachers were so few, he felt that they could scarcely be taken into account (Dibona,259).

Although the course of instruction and the teachers in the Arabic and Persian schools might have been superior to those in the vernacular schools as Adam felt, his comparison of them with the purely elementary Vernacular schools is questionable. In view of this all that we could say is that in the hierarchy of indigenous schools and teachers Arabic and Persian schools generally ranked below the Sanskrit and above the Vernacular schools both in regard to the character of instruction and the competence of teachers.

Of Sanskrit schools in Madras Presidency, drawing upon the Madras returns the Court of Directors wrote:

> Besides these elementary schools, there are, in eight out of the 20 Collectorates a few places of education, termed colleges by the Collectors, at which are taught, in the Sanskrit language what are called theology, law, and astronomy; to which, by some of the Collectors, is added logic. Though the number of these institutions is small, proportionally to the population, the number of pupils receiving instruction at them is, compared

> with what might be expected, still smaller, the majoirity of the colleges as appears from the returns, having not more than from four or five to seven or eight pupils each... In the other Collectorates and even to a great extent in those where colleges exist, the same sort of instruction is stated to be gratuitously given by many individuals in their own houses but what is thus spoken of by the Collectors as an institution of education, is apparently no more than the connection, to which the Hindoo religion attaches, so much importance, between a young Brahmin and his Cooroo or spiritual teacher, the person from whom he learns to read and explain the Vedas and Shastras; a connection, the sole object of which is to qualify him for the priestly functions and for that of an expounder of the law. It would probably be found on enquiry, that the purpose of the colleges as they are called, is precisely the same (FDE,136A,1828).

The Madras Provincial Committee reported that the course of instruction in these schools included, (in Sanskrit) the Vedas, Upanishads, the Indian system of logic, and various systems of philosophy, the grammar of Panini, rhetoric, the Ramayanam, and other epic poems, the dramas of Kalidas and other dramatists, besides Hindu law, and the minor literature that entered the then university curriculum; and, (in Tamil) the classical works, both literary and ethical, of the Madura Sangam (college), grammar, and the system of Saiva religion (MPR,67).

All these subjects, however, comprised only the various branches of learning and not the general course of instruction pursued by a student. This is evident from the Madras returns which show that there were separate schools for practically each of the various branches of learning such as astrology, astronomy, ethics, law, logic, medical science, metaphysics, poetics (Kavyam), historical traditions (Puranas), and theology. Apart from what could be inferred from these broad subjects, the returns do not contain any details on the character of instruction; and the only details available are a list of books used in three of the branches mentioned in the Rajamundry return.[26]

As of the quality of instruction, the Rajamundry and Cuddapah returns give some broad idea. The remarks in the former were in the context of the Veda schools:

> The teachers of the Vedum here alluded to are not generally men of much science. The scholar is barely taught so much of the Vedum as will enable him to perform the usual ceremonies of his religion, nor is it thought at all essential that he should understand what little he does read. Hence it happens that this class of people are often very deficient in their education (Dharampal, 190).

The remarks in the latter were with reference to the general state of higher learning.

> In nearly all the villages of this District there is an Enam set apart, as is doubtless well known to the Board for the support of a Punchangum Brahmin, and it might be conjectured that amongst so many there would be found some who had attained considerable perfection in Astronomy and Theology. Of this however there is hardly an instance. The persons holding such Enam are quite content to be ignorant of the higher branches of science, their utmost ambition being confined to the distinction of foretelling a fortunate hour for reaping or a lucky day for a marriage, and of contriving a horoscope for persons of distinction in the village (Dharampal, 222).

Undoubtedly, these remarks were too simplistic, for as the Court of Directors observed in a subsequent paragraph the Brahminical instruction in many parts of the Presidency was not so entirely destitute of real information. All the same, it is important to note that in early 19th century Sanskrit instruction was certainly in a state of stagnation. Of this Dubois observed:

> I do not believe that the Brahmins of modern times are, in any degree, more learned than their ancestors of the times of Lycurgus and Pythagoras. During this long space of time many barbarous races have emerged from the darkness of ignorance, have attained the summit of civilization, and have extended their intellectual researches almost to the utmost limits of human intelligence; yet all this time the Hindus have been perfectly stationary. We do not find

> amongst them any trace of mental or moral improvement, any sign of advance in the arts and science. Every impartial observer must, indeed, admit that they are now very far behind the peoples who inscribed their names long after them on the roll of civilized nations (Beauchamp, 376-7).

Although some of the Bombay returns also indicate that Sanskrit instruction comprised subjects such as astrology, astronomy, law, medicine, and theology, none of them contains any details of the nature of instruction. Classifying the Veda schools as purely religious, and other Sanskrit schools teaching subjects such as grammar, logic, medicine and philosophy, as partly religious and partly secular, the Bombay Provincial Committee reported that the object of the Veda schools was "to teach young Brahmans to recite mantras and portions of the Vedas, and thus to fit them in after-life to assist at the various rites and ceremonies of the Hindu household", and that the instruction in these schools was limited to a correct recitation of the sacred text without detailed explanation of the subject matter (BPR, I, 71-72). Apart from this brief information we do not have any details on the state of Sanskrit learning in Bombay Presidency either.

Of Sanskrit instruction in Bengal Presidency, the Bengal Provincial Committee wrote:

> The language taught in the tols is Sanskrit; and the subjects are usually grammar, abhidhan, poetry, rhetoric, logic, and to a less extent astrology, philosophy, law, and medicine. All these subjects are not taught in the same tols. Those which teach grammar, abhidhan, and belles letters, do not take up the higher subjects of logic and law; and those which teach the higher subjects do not teach the lower. Again, a tol for the study of law will not usually take up logic, nor a tol of logic take up law. Medicine also forms a distinct subject for a separate tol (BPR, 70).

Adam gave a more detailed account of the nature of instruction in these schools which seems to have relevance for the whole of India as well. In his report on Nattore

he observed that teachers of Hindu learning in Bengal generally divided into the three principal classes of general literature, law, and logic. He also observed that the acquirements of the first were mostly limited to their immediate class, whereas those of the second and the third generally presupposed those of the first and the second respectively, and that correspondingly, the first ranked the lowest, the second above them, and the third the highest in the hierarchy of the learned. (Dibona,80-1). Accordingly, of the 37 Sanskrit schools in Nattore he classified 13 into the lowest class of general literature, 19 into the middle class of law, and 2 into the highest class of logic, and described the full course of intended instruction in the schools of these three classes and in the remaining three schools which did not belong to any of these classes.

At the risk of over-simplification his description may be summarised thus:

A full course of instruction embraced (a) grammar, lexicology, poetry and drama, and rhetoric in the schools of general literature; (b) general literature and the various branches of Hindu law in the law schools; (c) general literature and reading and explanation of logic in the logic schools; (d) general literature, law, astrology, and Puranas in the Puranic school; (e) grammar, vedanta, and tantra in the Tantric school; and (f) grammar, general literature and medical reading in the medical school.

In the schools of general literature the works used were, for grammar, the four different grammars: Panini in 6 schools, Kalapa in 2, Mugdhabodha in 3, and Ratnamala in 2; for lexicology, the Amara Kosha of Amara Sinha with the commentary of Raghunata Chakravartti; for poetry and drama, the Bhatti Kavya, on the life and actions of Ram, Raghu Kavya on the history of Ram, Magha Kavya, on the war between Sisupala and Krishna, Naishada Kavya, on the loves of Nala-Damayanti,

Bharavi Kavya, on the war between Yudhishtira and Duryodana, etc., and for rhetoric, the Chandomanjari, on prosody, and the Kavya Prakasa, on the poetical composition.

In the law schools the works used were the compilations of Raghunandan, on various branches of Hindu law, and a treatise on inheritance by him and also by Jimutavahan.

The works used in the logic schools were the Bhasha Parichcheda, an introduction to the system of logic; Vyapti Panchaka, on the necessary or inherent qualities of objects; Sinha Vyaghra, a supplement to the preceding; Vyaddhi-karana-dharma-bachinabhaba, Siddhanta Lakshana, Abhachechedaktanurukti, and Visesa Vyapti, all on the same subject, Paksata, on inferential proposition; Samanya Lakshana and Samanya Nirukti on the definition of classes or genera;. Avayava, on syllogism; Betwabhasha on fallacies; Kusumanjali on division of existence; and Vyutpattivada, a treatise on the derivation and meaning of the radical portions and of the suffixes and affixes of words.

The works used in the Puranic school were Jyotisa Tatwa by Raghunandan; Jataka Chandrica, on the calculation of nativities; and Satkritya Muktavali, Dipika, and Samanya Pradipa, on lucky and unlucky days. In the Tantric school the works used were Nidana, a standard medical work; Chakradatta by Chakrapani, Ratnamala by Ramakrishna, Dravya Guna by Narayana Dasa, a commentary by the same author on his own work, Madhamati; commentaries of Vijaya Raksita and Siddanta Chintamani on the Nidana; a commentary on Chakradatta by Yasodhara; and Patyapatya, a work described as variously treating of the causes of diseases, diagnosis, the practice of medicine; and materia medica (Dibona, 82-7).

As of the actual course of instruction, Adam reported that none of the courses was taught in full; nor were all the works used in full in all the schools. As examples he mentioned that

although the compilation of Raghunandan on Hindu law were comprised in 28 books, the number of books read was seldom more than 10, never exceeded 12, and was sometimes not more than 4, 3, and even 2; that the treatise on inheritance by Raghunandan as well as by Jimutavahan was taught only in one or two schools; and that in one of the schools of logic only a few of the works were taught, that too partially and superficially.

Despite this disparity between the intended and actual course of instruction, an understanding of the distribution of the 37 schools and their scholars according to the branches of learning against the background of the above discussion of the course of instruction will give us some broad idea of the state of Sanskrit learning in Rajshahi district.

This distribution, as shown in Table 12, makes it clear that, as Adam himself pointed out, the general state of learning in the district was not very flourishing, and that grammar was perhaps the only branch in which a considerable number of persons had a distinguished proficiency, whereas logic, the highest branch was in utter neglect.

Adam did not give a similar classification of the schools and scholars in the remaining five districts. Nor did he describe in detail the course of instruction. Instead, he chose to enumerate the students according to the subjects studied (Table 13).

Table 12: Schools and scholars by branch of learning, Nattore, 1835

Sl. no.	Branch of learning	Schools No.	Schools %	Scholars No.	Scholars %
I	Logic				
	1 Grammar and logic	1	2.70	4	1.01
	2 Grammar, lexicology, and logic	1	2.70	4	1.01
		2	5.41	8	2.03
II	Law				
	1 Grammar and law	9	24.32	107	27.16
	2 Grammar, lexicology, and law	3	8.11	30	7.61
	3 Grammar, lexicology, Bhagavata	1	2.70	2	0.51
	4 Grammar, lexicology, literature and law	3	8.11	31	7.87
	5 Grammar,& literature	1	2.70	13	3.30
	6 Grammar, literature, law, and Puranas	1	2.70	8	2.03
	7 Grammar, lexicology, literature, law and rhetoric	1	2.70	35	8.88
		19	51.35	226	57.36
III	General literature				
	1 Grammar	9	24.32	75	19.03
	2 Grammar and law	1	2.70	15	3.81
	3 Grammar, lexicology and law	2	5.41	24	6.09
	4 Grammar, lexicology, literature and astronomy	1	2.70	7	1.78
		13	35.13	121	30.71
IV	Puranic				
	Grammar, literature, astrology, law, Mahabharata	1	2.70	20	5.08
V	Tantric				
	Grammar, Tantra, Vedanta	1	2.70	12	3.05
VI	Medical	1	2.70	7	1.78
	Total	37	100.00	394	100.00

Source: Tabulated from, Dibona, 152-73

Table 13: Students by branch of learning in Bengal Presidency, 1836-38.

Sl. No.	Branch of learning	Beerbhoom	Behar, South	Burdwan	Moorshedabad	Tirhoot
1	Astrology	5 1.38	13 2.97	7 0.52	-	53 24.77
2	Grammar	274 75.90	356 81.46	644 47.42	23 15.03	127 59.35
3	Law	24 6.65	2 0.46	238 17.53	64 41.83	8 3.74
4	Lexicology	2 0.55	8 1.83	31 2.28	4 2.61	3 1.40
5	Literature	8 2.22	16 3.66	90 6.63	2 1.31	4 1.87
6	Logic	27 7.48	6 1.37	277 20.40	52 33.99	16 7.48
7	Medicine	1 0.28	2 0.46	15 1.10	-	-
8	Mimansa	-	2 0.46	-	-	-
9	Mythology	8 2.22	22 5.03	43 3.17	8 5.23	1 0.47
10	Rhetoric	9 2.49	2 0.46	8 0.59	-	-
11	Sankhya	-	1 0.23	-	-	-
12	Tantras	-	2 0.46	2 0.15	-	-
13	Vedanta	3 0.83	5 1.14	3 0.22	-	2 0.93
	Total	361 100.00	437 100.00	1358 100.00	153 100.00	214 100.00

Note: The lower figures refer to column percentages.
The blanks refer to 'Nils'.

Source: Tabulated from Dibona, 226,229,234,236,239.

This enumeration, however, reveals that Adam's observations on the deplorable state of learning in Nattore were true in most of the other districts also. It was grammar, the lowest ranking branch of learning which had preponderance in Beerbhoom, South B[illegible] and Tirhoot districts, whereas the higher ranking subjects of logic and law had such preponderance only in the city and district of Moorshedabad and some significance only in the Burdwan district. Although the exceptional situations in these two districts call for explanation, we are not in a position to offer it. Perhaps a probe into their pre-British and early-British socio-cultural history will offer an answer; but that is beyond the scope of this study.

5.3 Domestic Instruction

Although much of what passed for indigenous instruction imparted through schools, to some extent it was also imparted at home by family members or hired tutors. Such instruction was mostly elementary and an alternative to school-instruction.

The Madras and Bombay returns do not contain any information on the nature of such instruction. But, Adam's report on Nattore shows that it was even more limited and imperfect than the school-instruction:

> The instruction given in families is still more limited and imperfect than that which is given in schools. In some cases I found that it did not extend beyond the writing of the letters of the alphabet, in others the writing of words. Pandits and priests, unless when there is some landed property in the family, confine the Bengali instruction they give their children to writing and reading, addition and subtraction, with scarcely any of the applications of numbers to agricultural and commercial affairs. Farmers and traders naturally limit their instructions to what they best know, and what is to them and their children of greatest direct utility, the calculations and measurements peculiar to their immediate occupations. The parents with whom I have conversed on the subject do not attach the same value to the domestic instruction their children receive which they ascribe to the instruction of a professional school-master, both because in their opinion such instruction would be more regular and systematic and because the teacher would probably be better qualified (Dibona, 67-68).

The evidence before the Provincial Committees of the Education Commission show that domestic instruction was of little use and much harm. "My experience does not lead me to place a high value on home instruction in any country, much less in India", was the statement of one of the witnesses before the Madras Provincial Committee. His reasoning was that "an indispensable condition of home instruction is the existence of enlightened family and social surroundings", and that "home instruction, to be successful, demands an educated home, which in India is the exception rather than the rule" (MPR, Evidence, 33). "(Home instruction) is well nigh valueless" and "a boy educated at home is quite unable to compete with a school-taught boy" was the statement of another witness (MPR, Evidence, 92). And, "where it does exist, apart from instruction given at school,... it is of comparatively little value", was that of a third (MPR, Evidence, 141).

The evidence before the Bombay Provincial Committee also present a similar discouraging picture. One of the witnesses stated that the 'few specimens' he had seen were not very favourable, and that they were generally the sons of well-to-do parents, who secured the cheapest teachers available without very much regard to their fitness (BPR, II, 472).

"My experience does not justify me in valuing home instruction highly" was the statement of one of the witnesses before the Bengal Provincial Committee (BPR, 318); "(boys) who have ... received a purely domestic instruction cannot compete on equal terms with boys educated at... schools", was that of another (BPR, 226). A third witness was more forthright in his views:

> Sad personal experience has taught me the utter worthlessness of home education. I had nearly ruined my boy by keeping him at home, with the object of keeping him from contamination with immoral school-boys" (BPR, 363-4).

"The home instruction is very meagre and unsystematic" was the evidence of one of the witnesses before the North Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee (NPR,278). "Home education is defective and partial", was that of another (NWPR, 335). A third witness offered more details:

> I have a very low opinion of the value and usefulness of home instruction in India. In the first instance, there are but very few people who educate their children exclusively at homes, and the instruction is not liberal in its character, nor is it imparted on European principles. Sometimes a raja, or mahajan, engages a tutor to teach his son, but the instruction is often limited, and confined generally, if not exclusively, to the literature of one or two languages. Kayasths and Musalmans, who have a love of bringing up their children on the old method of the Musalmans, engage a Maulvi, and the instruction imparted is exclusively in the Persian literature, and the most part of it... is learnt by rote. The books also in certain cases are objectionable, as tending to deteriorate the character of scholars. Arithmetic, history, and geography are unknown (NWPR,198).

"The boys instructed at home cannot in any case compete with boys instructed at schools", was the statement of one of the witnesses before the Panjab Provincial Committee (PPR,146). "Home education, nearly always a mistake, is a very great evil in India. The corrupting influences that surround youth of the higher classes in Indian homes are evils enough", was that of another (PPR,203). "It is of little value" was that of a third (PPR,297). "With regard to home education, my observation leads me to believe it produces lassitude and enervation in intellect and morals, and that it is the fruitful parent of vicious idleness", was that of a fourth witness (NPR,453).

The Madras returns do not shed any light on the extent of such instruction. The only return which stated the number of children under domestic instruction was of the Madras Collector, and that statement was a gross over-estimate: The number under domestic instruction was estimated at 26963, whereas that under school instruction was estimated at 5236. Not surprisingly, in his Minute reviewing the several returns

and the Board of Revenue's abstract on them, Munro remarked that there was probably some error in the Collector's return, and that the number did not certainly approach the figure reported by the Collector. Though Munro felt that the number was undoubtedly considerable, the evidence before the Madras Provincial Committee reveal that it was not so. "Nor do I believe that such (home education) exists except to a very limited extent in southern India" was the statement of one of the witnesses (MPR, Evidence, 7). "There is almost no home instruction,... the people being too poor to provide for private tution", was that of a second witness (MPR, E, 83). "Home instruction does not prevail to a considerable extent. As a system,... it is confined to princes and zamindars who do not like to send their children to schools", was that of a third (MPR, E, 132). "Home instruction does not exist to a very large extent in this Presidency", was that of a fourth (MPR, E, 141). "I do not consider that home instruction exists to any considerable extent..., and where it does exist, it is confined to the families of rich men in large towns"; was that of a fifth "home instruction in this Presidency is confined only to very wealthy families", was that of a sixth witness (MPR, E, 255).

Irrespective of the extent, considering that several of the village schools were also private tutorships, domestic instruction and school-instruction would have shaded into each other, thereby making it extremely difficult for the Collectors to distinguish between the two and estimate the extent of each. Therefore, in all probability their returns include domestic instruction as well, though there is no mention of it.

The Bombay returns also do not contain any information on the extent of domestic instruction, though some of the returns do indicate its prevalence. Thus, the remarks of the Surat Collector that children of Brahmin and Vani castes learn in any event made in the context of his expenditure outlay for extension of education from which he excluded these groups;

and of the Ahmedabad Collector that "the few Vanees who reside at some of (the Mehwasee villages) either instruct their children themselves or else send them to a relative at another village where they are put to school" (Parulekar, 64,84).

But, the evidence before the Bombay Provincial Committee reveal that the phenomenon of domestic instruction was not widespread in Bombay Presidency either. "I know of no families where the children are taught at home instead of at schools", was the statement of one of the witnesses (BPR, II, 246). "Except perhaps in rare cases in large cities, such as Bombay, Poona, etc., no home education is attempted in mofussil", was that of a second witness (BPR, II, 292). "There is practically no home instruction in this Province; in a few cases the son of a rich man may have a private tutor, but he probably also attends school" was that of a third (BPR, II, 324). "Home instruction amongst our people is confined to a few priests; amongst the laity it is almost unknown. The reason of it is that there being no female education, mothers are not educated, so that it is not thought of at all", was that of a fourth witness (BPR, II, 337).

In his report on Nattore Adam estimated the number of children under domestic instruction at 2382, as against only 262 under school instruction. This was obviously a gross over-estimate, as he himself admitted later. For, he ascertained only the number of families in which domestic instruction was given and not the number of children in such families receiving instruction at home, though he arbitrarily estimated that number at 1.5 in each family. His later investigation revealed that in Moorshedabad city, and in the five Thanas selected for special investigation-one each in the districts of Beerbhoom, Burdwan, Moorshedabad, South Behar, and Tirhoot the number of children under domestic instruction was very small, and varied widely from thana to thana (Table 18). But, even in this investigation there were probably some errors. For, in the context of Nattore, Adam himself pointed out that domestic instruction was resorted to only by some groups, and as such it could not have been widespread:

> Those who give their children domestic instruction are zamindars, talukdars and persons of some little substance; shop-keepers and traders possessing some enterprize and forecast in their callings; zamindars' agents or factors (gomashtas), and heads of villages (mandals), who know practically the advantage of writing and accounts; and sometimes persons of straitened resources but respectable character, who have been in better circumstances, and wish to give their children the means of making their way in the world. Pandits too who intend that their children should pursue the study of Sanscrit begin by instructing them at home in the rudiments of their mother tongue; and brahmans who have themselves gone through only a partial course of Sanscrit reading, seek to qualify their children by such instruction as they can give for the office and duties of a family priest or spiritual guide (Dibona,67).

In his subsequent report Adam modified these observations only slightly:

> The account given in the Second Report of the classes of Hindu society to which those families belong that give domestic instruction to the children is I believe in general correct, viz. zamindars and talukdars, shop-keepers and traders, gomashtas and mandals, pandits and priests; but I have been led to conclude that the pandits or learned brahmins constitute a much larger proportion than any other class and probably than all the other classes put together. Few of them send their children to Bengali or Hindi schools where accounts are the chief subject of instruction. Most content themselves with giving their children a knowledge of mere reading and writing at home which is the sole qualification to enable them to begin the study of Sanscrit (Dibona,289).

The evidence before the Bengal Provincial Committee also reveal the limited spread of domestic instruction. One of the witnesses stated that there was not much of home instruction, while another stated that very few were the boys educated at home (BPR,318, 328).

6 EXTENT OF INSTRUCTION

In contrast to the mostly qualitative data on the different aspects of indigenous education discussed hitherto, data on the extent of instruction, by their very quantitative nature cannot be trusted for statistical accuracy. This limitation was inevitable for most of the surveys of early 19th century when the tools and techniques of scientific surveys were largely unknown. But, in the case of the educational surveys the problem was compounded by the difficulties of enumerating indigenous schools. The returns of Broach, Canara, and Nellore Collectors, and the reports of the provincial committees of Bombay, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and Punjab give us some general idea of these difficulties.

6.1 Difficulties of enumeration

Of the difficulties encountered in the collection of information on the extent of instruction, the Broach Collector wrote:

> In furtherence of the wishes of the Honorable the Governor in Council I have endeavoured to obtain some information of the number of scholars taught at each school, but this is not to be relied on, indeed it varies so much from time to time, and is regulated by so many incidental circumstances --- that it cannot well be computed in a satisfactory manner (Parulekar, 73-4).

Explaining his inability to send the required statement of schools and scholars, the Canara Collector reported that in his district education was entirely so private that the master was as often changed as the scholars, and that any estimate of the number under instruction cannot be but erroneous (Dharampal, 88).

The Nellore Collector stated that he met with unavoidable difficulties in obtaining statistics on schools and scholars in the zamindari talukas. This was presumably due to the ephemeral character of the schools which he explained later:

> The Native schools in the District are not permanently held by the teachers; some people who are anxious to have their children educated soon employ learned men to undertake their children's education separately in their own houses, settling with them their wages from 2 annas to 4 Rupees monthly, and also give them victuals in their houses. Some who cannot sufficiently pay the Teachers out of their own money procure some other children in addition to their own for being educated and get adequate allowance to them by way of subscription from these children, from one quarter, to one Rupee each monthly. When they see their children improved they give leave to the Teachers, and consequently break up the schools (Dharampal, 152-3).

The Bombay Provincial Committee referred to this ephemeral character of schools in its description of the 'birds of passage' status of the teachers:

> It should be added that in rural districts the indigenous school master is very irregularly paid. Not unfrequently he fails to recover his arrears and is compelled to break up his school and remove elsewhere... The indigenous schoolmaster except in towns is a bird of passage. Directly famine or accident temporarily affects the attendance he moves off. His illness or death also closes the school (BPR, I, 75, 79).

The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee also referred to this problem in its description of the task of enumerating indigenous schools as little better then pursuing a Will-o'-the-wisp:

> In those days, however, trustworthy statistics were not to be had for the asking. Even with things permanent and fixed, their accuracy would

> have been doubtful. But indigenous schools were far from permanent or fixed. The caprice of a teacher took him to a village, and he there gathered round him half a dozen pupils who constituted a "school". His caprice, in a few months perhaps, broke up that school. A _zemindar_, it might be, was well-to-do and thought he should like his sons to get some learning. He engaged a _guru_, and so long as his services were retained, felt no objection to their being shared by other boys in the village. But enlightened and good natured as the _zemindar_ might be, much learning meant to him if not a dangerous, at least a cumbrous thing. The pupil age of twelve was high noon in education, his sons were by that time masters of all the arts they were likely to need, the rest of the village must look after itself, and _guruji_ betakes himself to pastures new. To follow indigenous education and register its habitat was therefore little better than pursuing a Will-o'-the wisp. Added to this, the people were suspicious of inquiry to an extent which sorely checked and baffled our efforts (NWPR, 12).

Finally, the Panjab Provincial Committee also made a reference to the problem in its observation that "comparatively few of the schools were thought to be of a permanent character", and that "the Arabic and Sanskrit schools were attended by itinerant students, who begged their bread from place to place, and packed up their books and walked away as soon as the charitable public were tired of seeing the same faces, or they had finished the particular treatise in which their master for the time being was supposed to excel (PPR, 34).

While the difficulties of enumerating indigenous schools were thus common to the whole of India, the resulting limitation of the data was further compounded by the administrative nature of two out of the three enquiries with which we are concerned: As could be

gathered from section 3, the Madras and Bombay enquiries were conducted by the British administrators as part of their routine work, for obtaining a rough and ready idea of the state of education, whereas the Bengal enquiries were conducted by a special commissioner. Although the Madras and Bombay returns do not indicate the time taken for the collection of the required information in each district, they do show the time within which the collection of information was completed: In Madras Presidency one return was sent about 30 months, 12 returns were sent about 7 to 14 months, and 7 returns about 3 to 4 months after the BOR sent its letter ordering the enquiries. Similarly in Bombay Presidency, of the Collectorate returns three were sent about three months, and six about 5 to 8 months after Farish sent his letter ordering the enquiries. As against these, as we have already seen, for the Bengal enquiries Adam spent about 15 to 16 months, that too with the assistance of a battery of assistants and investigators.

Despite these limitations, however, the data available are still useful for a broad assessment of the extent of instruction; and it is only for such an assessment that the data are used in the present study.

6.2 Spread of education in Madras Presidency

Of the 21 Madras returns all but the Canara return contain the total number of schools, and total number of scholars by sex and major social groupings, along with the total male and female population of the respective districts. As mentioned earlier, the Madras Collector also reported the number of children under domestic

instruction, while the Malabar Collector reported the number of children under private instruction in the various branches of higher learning. The BOR's letter submitting these returns to the government contains an abstract statement of these details along with the total population of each district as per the statement submitted to government in February, May, and December 1823. The data tabulated from these details to the extent they are relevant to an understanding of the overall spread of education in each district are presented in Table 14.

As education was virtually confined to boys, the data on scholars presented in columns 7 to 10 are only for boys. The small number of girls under instruction will be referred to in the next section. As data available on domestic instruction and private higher learning are only for one district each, these are only mentioned in the footnote and not included in the Table. The data on total population contained in 15 of the returns are the same as the 1823 population figures supplied by the BOR, whereas those contained in the remaining returns, of North Arcot, South Arcot, Ganjum, Tanjore, and Vizagpatam, are not so. Although the BOR did not explain these variations, the Tanjore return indicates that the data contained in it were only for those villages where the schools were situated and not for the whole district, whereas the 1823 figures, almost one and a half times more than the former, seem to be for the district as a whole. What is more, in his review of the returns and the state of education in the Presidency Munro used only the 1823 figures and not those contained in the returns. In view of these, the data on total population presented in column 11 are also of 1823.

Table 14: Spread of education in Madras Presidency, 1822-25

Sl. No.	District	Schools				Scholars				Total Popn.	% of scholars		
		V	AP	S	Total	V	AP	S	Total		a	b	c
1	Arcot, North	590	40	69	699	6887	387	418	7692	392292	15.52	7.76	0.86
2	Arcot, South	875	-	-	875	10419	-	-	10419	455020	41.22	20.61	2.29
3	Bellary	489	21	23	533	6581	-	-	6581	927357	12.77	6.38	0.71
4	Canara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Chingleput	508	-	51	559	6729	-	398	7127	363129	35.33	17.66	1.96
6	Coimbatore	753	10	173	936	8124	-	724	8848	638199	24.95	12.48	1.39
7	Cuddapah	494	-	-	494	5892	-	-	5892	1094460	9.69	4.85	0.54
8.	Ganjum	255	-	-	255	2965	-	-	2965	232015	23.00	11.50	1.28
9	Guntoor	574	-	-	574	7622	-	-	7622	454754	30.17	15.08	1.68
10	Madras	322	-	-	322	5523	-	-	5523	462051	21.52	10.76	1.20
11	Madura	844	-	-	844	13676	-	-	13676	788196	31.23	15.62	1.74
12	Malabar	759	-	1	760	11963	-	75	12038	907575	23.87	11.94	1.33
13	Masulipatam	465	19	49	533	4816	234	199	5249	529849	17.83	8.92	0.99
14	Nellore	648	50	106	804	7563	-	-	7563	839467	16.22	8.11	0.90
15	Rajamundry	286	5	279	570	2587	34	1454	4075	738308	9.93	4.97	0.55
16	Salem	333	-	53	386	4268	-	324	4592	1075985	7.68	3.84	0.43
17	Seringapatam	41	-	-	41	613	-	-	613	31612	34.91	17.45	1.94
18	Tanjore	884	-	109	993	17428	-	769	18197	901353	36.34	18.17	2.02
19	Tinnevelly	607	-	-	607	9258	-	-	9258	564957	29.50	14.75	1.64
20	Trichinopoly	790	-	9	799	10191	-	131	10322	481292	38.60	19.30	2.14
21	Vizagpatam	914	-	-	914	9412	-	-	9412	772570	21.93	10.96	1.22
	Total	11431	145	922	12498	152517	655	4492	157664	13150941	21.58	10.79	1.20

Note: 1) V:Vernacular: AP: Arabic and Persian; S Sanskrit 2) Vernacular schools and scholars include 7 English school and 61 scholars in North Arcot, 1 English school and its scholars, & scholars of 21 Arabic and Persian,&23 Sanskrit schools in Bellary, 9 charity schools and their scholars in Cuddapah, 17 charity schools and 414 scholars in Madras, an unspecified number of Sanskrit schools and scholars in Madura, 1 English school and its scholars in Nellore, 1 English school and 4 scholars in Rajamundry, and 19 free schools and their scholars in Tanjore; and 26446 scholars under domestic instruction in Madras. Sanskrit scholars do not include 1553 scholars under private learning in Malabar. 3) Data are not available for Canara Blanks refer 'Nils'. 4. % of scholars - a) in population of school going age reckoned at 1/18th of the total population. b) in population of school going age reckoned at 1/9th of the population. c) in total population

Source: Tabulated from Dharampal, 91-247

In his Minute reviewing the several returns, Munro treated 5 to 10 years of age as the school-going age and reckoned the male population of this age-group at 1/18th of the total population. The districtwise percentages of school-going population in the population of school-going age tabulated at this proportion are presented in column 12. As an alternative to the estimate of the extent of education indicated by this column, data presented in column 13 show the percentage of school-going population in one-nineth of the total population, which Adam estimated as the population of the school-going age of 5 to 14 years for the Bengal districts. As a less controversial albiet more abstract indicator of the spread of education, data presented in column 14 show the percentage of school-going population in the total population.

As may be seen from the Table, by Munro's reckoning the school-going population accounted for about one-fifth excluding those under home instruction, and including them for about one-fourth, of the population of school-going age. Munro was, however, more inclined to estimate the proportion at nearer one-third, as he felt that home instruction was not infrequent in any part of the country, though as we have already seen it was a higher-echelon prerogative. By his estimate, however, even this overall state of education in the Presidency was low. Of this low state and of its causes, he wrote:

> The state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period. It has, no doubt, been better in earlier times; but for the last century it does not appear to have undergone any other change than what arose from the number of schools diminishing in one place and increasing in another, in consequence of the shifting of the population, from war and other causes. The great number of

> schools has been supposed to contribute to the keeping of education in a low state, because it does not give a sufficient number of scholars to secure the service of able teachers. The monthly rate paid by each scholar is from four to six or eight annas. Teachers in general do not earn more than six or seven rupees monthly, which is not an allowance sufficient to induce men properly qualified to follow the profession. It may also be said that the general ignorance of the teachers themselves is one cause why none of them draw together a large body of scholars; but the main causes of the low state of education are the little encouragement which it receives, from there being but little demand for it, and the poverty of the people (Dharampal, 249).

If Munro himself found the state of education low, in point of fact it ought to have been much lower. For, in his estimate of the population of school-going age he took into account only the term of education, which was wrong on two counts:

First, the term of education taken by him was only the interval between 5 and 10 years of age. His explanation for taking this interval was that though many boys continued at school till 12 or 14 many left it under 10 years of age (Dharampal, 248). But, as we have already seen, the duration of instruction varied widely among the different districts. It was 2 years in Cuddapah, 3 to 5 years in Salem, 3 to 6 years in Nellore, 5 years in Bellary and Tanjore, 5 to 6 years in North Arcot, 5 to 7 years in Rajamundry, 7 to 10 years in Madura, 7 to 12 years in Masulipatam, 8 years in Madras and Trichinopoly, and 8 to 9 years in Coimbatore.

Second, as the term of education is usually contingent on various social factors, it cannot be used as a determinant of the school-going age-group, which is

usually of a much wider range from the minimum age of admission to the maximum age of leaving the school. If the term of education were to correspond to the school-going age-group, by the same logic it could be argued that a reduction in the former necessitated by various social constraints on the access to the institution of education should result in a corresponding reduction in the latter, and that a society devoid of any term of education should have no population of school-going age at all. In fact, in his attempt to estimate the extent of education in Bombay Presidency, Parulekar unwittingly stumbled on such a logic as we shall show shortly.

As against Munro's estimate, data presented in column 13 on the percentage of school-going population in the population of the age-group of 5 to 14 years clearly show that the extent of education was only half of what Munro himself estimated as low. This alternative estimate seems more reliable and closer to the reality for two reasons: First, the population of the age-group of 5 to 14 years which Adam considered the Juvenile population or population of school-going age are also generally considered as such. Second, the proportion of this population in the total population, arrived at by Adam at about one-nineth based on a special census, might have also been roughly the same in the whole of India at periods not very distant from his survey.

Irrespective of the indicator used to estimate the extent of education, it is relevant to note here that there were wide variations in the spread of education among the different districts: The spread of education was relatively high in Chingleput, Guntoor, Madura,

Seringapatam, South Arcot, Tanjore, Tinnevelly, and Trichinopoly. It was moderate in Coimbatore, Ganjum, Madras, Malabar, and Vizagpatam; and low in Bellary, Cuddapah, Masulipatam, North Arcot, Nellore, Rajamundry, and Salem. These variations might have been for reasons like the historically backward geographic condition of some districts such as Bellary, Cuddapah, Rajamundry, and Salem, the social unrest in some districts, at the time of or at the time immediately preceding, the educational enquiries, and more importantly, the relatively higher proportion in the total population of some districts of the population of those castes which historically enjoyed relatively greater access to education. However, until we marshal adequate evidence, the reasons would remain mere conjectures.

6.3 Spread of education in Bombay Presidency

Of the nine Collectorate returns of Bombay Presidency only four contain the data required for estimating the extent of education in terms of population. But, while all the four returns contain the total number of boys under instruction, only the Dharwar return contains the total population, as per a census taken about five years before the return. The population figures given in the remaining three returns are incomplete, covering, in Ahmednagar, only the total number of boys in the villages with schools without reference to their age-groups; in Khandesh, only the boys not learning, again without reference to their age-groups; and in South Concan, only boys under twelve years of age (Parulekar, 21-50, 118, 123, 138).[27]

Although all the nine returns contain data for estimating the extent of education in terms of the distribution of schools among the several villages, even on this aspect the data are not uniform: while all the returns show the total number of schools, only six show the total number of villages, while the remaining three refer only to the number of villages per school.

Both these data presented in Table 15, indicate that in Bombay Presidency the spread of education was even lower than in Madras: In Ahmednagar the school-going population accounted for only about one-fifth of the total boys of the villages with schools which were only one for every 35 villages in the whole district. In South Concan, where only one in every 26 villages had a school, the school-going population accounted for only 1.28% in the total population of boys under 12 years of age. In Dharwar, where only one in eight villages had a school, the school-going population accounted for only about 6% in the total population of school-going age reckoned at one-nineth of the total population. In Khandesh, where only one in every 11 villages had a school the school-going population accounted for only about 5% in the total population of boys. The villages with schools in the remaining districts for which population data are not available were only one in every four in Kaira, one in every five each in Broach and Surat, one in every ten in Poona, and one in every eleven in Ahmedabad.

The very low state of education thus revealed by the Table is also corroborated by the observations in some of the returns. For instance, the Ahmedabad Collector remarked that "to raise the great mass of the inhabitants,

Table 15: Spread of education in Bombay Presidency, 1824-25

Sl. No.	District	No. of schools				No. of scholars				Total Popu-lation	% of scholars in population	No. of villages per school
		V	AP	S	Total	V	AP	S	Total			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Ahmedabad	84	-	-	84	2673	-	-	2673	-	-	11
2	Ahmednagar	116	7	38	161	-	-	-	2142	10,000	21.42	35
3	Broach	85	-	-	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
4	Concan, South	85	-	-	85	1503	-	-	1503	117,798	1.28	26
5	Dharwar	270	-	-	270	3928	-	-	3928	600,000	0.65	8
6	Kaira	139	-	-	139	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
7	Khandesh	95	19	75	189	1643	66	313	2022	36,881	5.48	11
8	Poona	110	-	-	110	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
9	Surat	139	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5

Note: Blanks refer to 'Nils'

Source: Tabulated from, Parulekar, 21-50, 61,71,76,82,101, 116-120,121-2,135, 137-8,148-50

the cultivating class, from that deplorable state of ignorance in which they have long remained is an object worthy of the consideration of a benevolent Government". The Dharwar Collector stressed that "education is at the lowest ebb in (the) Collectorate". Finally, the Kaira Collector reported that "of the children of a village two-thirds, on an average, are not sent to school" and that "few Rajpoots and scarcely any Coolees attend", and that "their ignorance is proverbial" (Parulekar, 78, 83-4, 138).

As an alternative to the extent of education revealed by the Table, we may also look at the extent of education revealed by the data available in the 1828-9 educational report. This report, was on the state of education in the several Collectorates of Bombay Presidency, submitted to the government in October 1829, by the Registrar of the Bombay Sudur Dewanee Udalat. It was prepared from the reports received from the several Collectors in response to a letter of the Bombay government issued in July 1828, presumably as a follow-up to the Elphinstone enquiries. The data on the spread of education contained in this report are the number of government and village schools and their scholars in each district, along with the total district population. These are presented in Table 16.

In estimating the extent of education from these data, Parulekar reckoned the proportion of the boys of school-going age at 1/45th of the total population in Gujarat, and 1/30th in the rest of the Presidency. His reasoning was so naive that it needs full reproduction:

Table 16 : Spread of education in Bombay Presidency, 1828-29

Sl. No.	District	Schools			Scholars			Total Population	% of scholars in	
		G	V	Total	G	V	Total		Population of school going age reckoned at 1/9th of total population	Total Population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Ahmedabad	3	88	91	127	3226	3353	470729	6.41	0.71
2	Ahmednagar	4	164	168	232	2906	3138	500000	5.65	0.63
3	Broach	2	24	26	75	967	1042	238421	3.93	0.44
4	Concan, North	2	135	137	188	2490	2678	387264	6.22	0.69
5	Concan, South	1	281	282	21	6700	6721	655776	9.22	1.02
6	Dharwar	2	302	304	94	4196	4290	794142	4.86	0.54
7	Kaira	2	82	84	157	3024	3181	444298	6.44	0.72
8	Khandesh	2	112	114	59	1610	1669	377321	3.98	0.44
9	Poona	5	304	309	266	4651	4917	558902	7.92	0.88
10	Surat	2	188	190	96	4068	4164	254882	14.70	1.63
	Total	25	1680	1705	1315	33838	35153	4681735	6.76	0.75

Note: G: Government
V: Village

Source: Tabulated from, Parulekar, 188.

> Sir Thomas Munroe, in a similar calculation in Madras in 1822 (Sic!) ... calculated that children between the ages 5-10 were one-nineth of the total population (Sic!). We can, therefore, safely assume that children of 7-12 in the Bombay Province also were one-nineth of the total population. The next question that we have to tackle is this: the 7 to 12 age range represents a stay of five years in the school, or in other words, a normal course of instruction of five years. We have already assumed that in the Bombay Province, the average length of the school course was of 2 years' duration in Gujarat and of 3 years' length in the rest of the Province. In order to get at the necessary proportion of children that ought to be in school to the total population, we have to make a proportionate reduction in the figure one-nine. It will be (1/9 x 2/5=2/45) for Gujarat and (1/9 x 3/5=1/15) for the rest of the Province. But as boys only were sent to schools and not girls also, we have still to reduce these new proportions by half in order to get the proportion of boys only of school-going age to the total population. The requisite proportion therefore for boys only will be 1/45th for Gujarat and 1/30th for the rest of the Province (Parulekar, xli-ii).

The result of this calculation was a spurious rise in the extent of education in the whole of Bombay Presidency. It showed that of the male population of school-going age as high as one-third in Gujarat, one-fourth in Konkan, and about one-fifth in the Deccan and Karnatak were in schools (Parulekar,xlii)! But, in point of fact, the school-going population in the population of school-going age, reckoned at one-nineth of the total population, accounted for only about 15% in Surat, 9% in South Concan, 8% in Poona, and 4% to 6% in the remaining districts.

6.4 Spread of education in Bengal Presidency

Data on the spread of education in Bengal, avail-

able in Adam reports, are on school and domestic instruction of the male population of school-going age, and on educational attainments of the adult male population, or to paraphrase Adam's own statement, on the existing means of instruction compared to the wants of the juvenile male population, and on the amount of cultivation possessed by the adult male population (Dibona, 93). These data, however, are not for the whole of the areas for which his reports contain complete statistics of schools and scholars, viz. in Rajshahi district the Nattore Thana, in Moorshedabad district the city of Moorshedabad and one Thana, and the whole of the districts of Beerbhoom, Burdwan, Midnapore, South Behar, and Tirhoot. Instead, apart from Nattore and the city and one Thana of Moorsedabad these data are limited to one Thana in each of the districts of Beerbhoom, Burdwan, South Behar, and Tirhoot, which he selected for special investigation of domestic instruction, educational attainments of the adult male population, and more importantly, of the age and sex composition of the total population.

In trying to estimate the existing measures of instruction compared to the wants of the juvenile population, and the educational attainments of the adult male population, Adam classified the population of these seven localities into three age-groups as shown in Table 17. He treated the age-group of below 5 years as of pre-school age, that is, below the age at which the first instruction in letters was usually communicated; of 5 to 14 years as of teachable or school-going age; and of above 14 years as of adult age.

Table 17: Population by sex and age-group, Bengal Presidency, 1835-38.

Sl. no.	District/ Thana	Below 5 years Male	Below 5 years Female	5 to 14 years Male	5 to 14 years Female	Above 14 years Male	Above 14 years Female	Total Male	Total Female	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Beerbhoom Nanglia	3595	3482	5487	3442	14414	15996	23496	22920	46416
		7.75	7.50	11.82	7.42	31.05	34.46	50.62	49.38	100.00
2	Behar, South Jehanabad	4669	3643	9781	5814	29936	27637	44386	37094	81480
		5.73	4.47	12.00	7.14	36.74	33.92	54.47	45.53	100.00
3	Burdwan Culna	9536	7668	11334	6842	38974	42071	59844	56581	116425
		8.19	6.59	9.73	5.88	33.47	36.14	51.40	48.60	100.00
4	Moorshedabad City	6310	5584	9539	5553	46670	51148	62519	62285	124804
		5.06	4.47	7.64	4.45	37.39	40.98	50.09	49.91	100.00
5	Daulatbazar	4537	4235	6801	3627	20222	22615	31560	30477	62037
		7.31	6.83	10.96	5.85	32.60	36.45	50.87	49.13	100.00
6	Rajshahi Nattore	18442	16497	22637	16792	59500	61428	100579	94717	195296
		9.44	8.45	11.59	8.60	30.47	31.45	51.50	48.50	100.00
7	Tirhoot Bhawara	4369	3618	8368	5041	23224	21192	35961	29851	65812
		6.64	5.50	12.71	7.66	35.29	32.20	54.64	45.36	100.00
	Total	51458	44727	73947	47111	232940	242087	358345	333925	692270
		7.43	6.46	10.68	6.81	33.65	34.97	51.76	48.24	100.00

Note : The lower figures refer to row percentages

Source: Tabulated from, Dibona, 93-4, 275-9.

In estimating the spread of education among the male population of the age group of 5 to 14 years, Adam took into account only scholars in the Vernacular and in the elementary Muhammandan schools and those under domestic instruction. His explanation for excluding scholars in the advanced Hindu and Muhammadan schools was that virtually all of them were above 14 years of age and that majority of the scholars of advanced Hindu schools were full grown men as well. Data on the spread of education among the male population of this group so calculated are presented in Table 18.

As may be seen from the Table, in the Culna Thana of Burdwan, where the proportion of boys under instruction was the highest, only 26 out of every 100 boys of school-going age were under school or domestic instruction; in the Bhawara Thana of Tirhoot, where the proportion was the lowest, only 4 out of every 100 boys were under such instruction; and in the remaining Thanas, where the proportions were intermediate, only between 9 and 13 boys out of every 100 were under any instruction, whereas all the remaining children in all the localities were destitute of any kind of instruction.

Lamenting this low state of education, Adam wrote:

> While ignorance is so extensive, can it be a matter of wonder that poverty is extreme, that industry languishes, that crime prevails, and that in the adoption of measures of public policy, however salutary and ameliorating their tendency, Government cannot reckon with confidence on the moral support of an intelligent and instructed community? Is it possible that a benevolent, a wise, a just Government can allow this state of things any longer to continue? (Dibona, 237-8).

Table 18 : Spread of juvenile instruction in Bengal Presidency, 1835-38

Sl. No.	Locality	Boys in schools	Boys under domestic instruction	Total	% of total boys under instruction in: Male juvenile population	Total population
1	Nanglia	439	285	724		
		60.64	39.36	100.00	13.19	1.56
2	Jehanabad	366	539	905		
		40.44	59.56	100.00	9.25	1.11
3	Culna	2243	677	2919		
		76.84	23.16	100.00	25.75	2.51
4	City of Moorshe-debad	959	300	1259		
		76.17	23.83	100.00	13.20	1.01
5	Daulatbazar	305	326	631		
		48.34	51.66	100.00	9.28	1.02
6	Nattore	262	2382	2644		
		9.91	90.09	100.00	11.68	1.35
7	Bhawara	60	288	348		
		17.24	82.76	100.00	4.16	0.53
	Total	4634	4796	9430		
		49.14	50.86	100.00	12.75	1.36

Note: The lower figures refer to row percentages

Source: Tabulated from, Dibona 93-4, 287

Comparing the spread of education in Bengal with that in the England of early 19th century, Laird pointed out that in the former the proportion of boys without any instruction was much higher:

> In both England and Bengal during the early 19th century many children received no education at all, but the available statistics indicate that the proportion which did not was much higher in the latter than in the former. The results of the British Parliamentary enquiry set on foot in 1833 showed that 50 to 60 per cent of children of both sexes received some form of elementary education -- though many of them only in Sunday schools. Adam's almost exactly contemporaneous investigations, however, revealed that in Kalna thana, Burdwan district -- the best of those which he sampled -- only 25.4% of the boys received any education; there was virtually none for girls. Moreover these statistics conceal a still greater divergence, for the English figures refer to the lowest classes of that society, whereas it was the middling and higher castes that made most use of the pathsalas (Laird, 47).

This low state, measured numerically, was however, aggravated by the poor quality of instruction on which Adam dwelt at length in the context of Nattore:

> The large numerical proportion of those needing instruction to those receiving it, shows that the means of instruction must be exceedingly scanty; but this conclusion is still more fully established when it is added that the means of instruction actually provided are not only insufficient numerically for the juvenile population to be instructed, but that compared with similar institutions in other countries they afford only the lowest grades of instruction, and those in imperfect forms and in the most desultory manner. What, for instance, bearing the semblance of instruction, can be less worthy of the name than the mere knowledge of the forms and sounds of letters to which instruction in the Arabic elementary schools is limited? And in

> the Bengali and Persian schools, which are several grades higher, I have shown how imperfect is the instruction communicated. Even that proportion therefore of the juvenile population who are receiving some sort of elementary instruction, must be regarded as most defectively instructed (Dibona, 94-5).

While the low state of school and domestic instruction pointed up the inadequacy of the means employed to instruct the juvenile population, Adam felt that the state of adult instruction showed the effect of these means on the general condition of the society. In estimating this general condition, he divided the instructed adult male population into six classes: first, those in receipt of a learned education and engaged in teaching, who in terms of intellectual cultivation, acquired learning, religious authority, and moral influence, ranked first in society; second, those in receipt of either a complete or an imperfect learned education, but had no means or ability to establish or conduct a school of learning; third, those not in receipt of learned education, but engaged in teaching with attainments superior to mere knowledge of reading and writing; fourth, those not in receipt of a learned education and not engaged in teaching, but possessed attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing; fifth, those in receipt of a mere knowledge of reading and writing; and sixth, those in receipt of a mere knowledge to decipher writing or sign their names.

Data on the distribution of 'instructed' adult males in these classes, and the proportion of the total instructed adult males in the total adult male population in each of the 7 localities are presented in Table 19. A juxtaposed reading of Tables 18 and 19 will reveal the

Table 19: Educational attainments of adult male population in Bengal Presidency, 1835-8.

Sl. no.	Attainments	Nanglia	Jehanabad	Culna	Moorshedabad city	Daulatbazar	Nattore	Bhawara	Total
1	Learned education and teaching	1.60 2 0.12	4.80 6 0.21	30.40 38 0.52	26.40 33 0.45	Nil	31.20 39 0.64	5.60 7 0.63	100.00 125 0.45
2	Learned education but no teaching	3.60 12 0.74	5.71 19 0.67	29.73 99 1.35	22.52 75 1.02	3.90 13 0.73	26.43 88 1.44	8.11 27 2.61	100.00 333 1.19
3.	No learned education but teaching with knowledge superior to mere reading and writing	5.09 34 2.11	7.93 53 1.87	13.92 93 1.27	8.98 60 0.82	3.74 25 1.41	59.43 397 6.49	0.90 6 0.58	100.00 668 2.38
4	No learned education and teaching but knowledge superior to mere reading and writing	2.76 352 21.82	7.77 992 34.99	18.97 2424 33.17	37.35 4772 64.88	4.34 555 31.32	25.48 3255 53.18	3.33 425 41.14	100.00 12775 45.56
5	Knowledge limited to reading and writing	9.45 593 36.76	12.13 761 26.84	36.72 2304 31.53	27.09 1700 23.11	9.78 614 34.65	Nil	4.83 303 29.33	100.00 6275 22.38
6	Knowledge limited to deciphering writing or signing names	7.89 620 38.44	12.77 1004 35.41	29.89 2350 32.16	9.10 715 9.72	7.19 565 31.88	29.79 2342 38.26	3.37 265 25.65	100.00 7861 28.04
	Total	5.75 1613 100.00	10.11 2835 100.00	26.07 7308 100.00	26.23 7355 100.00	6.32 1772 100.00	21.83 6121 100.00	3.68 1033 100.00	100.00 28037 100.00
	Adult instructed as % in adult male population	11.19	9.47	18.75	15.72	8.76	10.29	4.45	12.03

Note : The middle figure against each sl.no. indicates the absolute number; the upper figure indicates row percentages; the lower figure indicates the column percentages

Source: Tabulated from, Dibona, 94-7, 290-4

close correspondence in all the 7 localities between the proportion of instructed adults in the total adult male population and that of boys under instruction in the total juvenile population of boys. From this correspondence it has to be inferred that the state of education was not any better or worst in the preceding than in the then rising generation and that the general condition of society in respect of education was one of virtual stagnation.

A further juxtaposed reading of these Tables and also of Table 17 will reveal that the overall spread of education, that is, the proportion of all the instructed males in the total juvenile and adult male population, the highest in the Culna Thana of Burdwan district was only about 20%; the lowest was as low as 4%, in Bhawara Thana of Tirhoot district; the intermediate proportions were only between 9% and 15% in the remaining localities.

While these proportions themselves clearly reveal the extremely backward state of education, in the total population, including females they were much less. The resulting state of ignorance will be more clear from Adam's observations in the context of Nattore:

> The conclusions to which I have come on the state of ignorance both of the male and female, the adult and the juvenile, population of this district require only to be distinctly apprehended in order to impress the mind with their importance. No declamation is required for that purpose. I cannot however expect that the reading of this report should convey the impressions which I have received from daily witnessing the mere animal-life to which Ignorance consigns its victims, unconscious of any wants or enjoyments beyond those which they participate with the

> beasts of the field -- unconscious of any of the higher purposes for which existence has been bestowed, society has been constituted, and government is exercised. I am not acquainted with any facts which permit me to suppose that, in any other country subject to an enlightened government and brought into direct and constant contact with European civilization, in an equal population there is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this district (Dibona, 97).

6.5 Distribution

Irrespective of its imperfections and inadequacies, the institution of indigenous education would have still had far reaching relevance for Indian society if it were not founded on the principle of social closure. Stated differently, had the distribution of indigenous education been diffused and not concentrated, the institution would not have met its nemesis in its decay and destruction. For, as it happens so often, institutions which serve only a chosen few have much less vitality and longevity than those which are functional to the entire society.

If caste-discriminations in education, the recurrent theme of this study, were crude expressions of this closure, female exclusion was the crudest. As our task in the remaining three parts of the study will be to examine the former, we shall limit our present discussion to the latter.

6.6 Female exclusion

Stating that "one of the best ways to understand the spirit of a civilisation and to appreciate its excellences and realise its limitations is to study the history

of the position and status of women in it", Altekar argued that in ancient India women enjoyed high social status, that their education was fairly widespread, that "the cause of women's education suffered a good deal after c 300 BC on account of the new fashion of child marriage that then began to come into vogue", that "by about the 8th or 9th century AD the marriageable age of girls was further lowered to 9 or 10", and that "this gave practically a death-blow to any education worth the name" (Altekat, 1983, 1-20). Irrespective of the veracity of these arguments, it is a truism that the social status of women is a major determinant of their educational status, and also a major indicator of social progress (Kamat, 205), that even by Altekar's reckoning Indian women had only a very low social status for at least the last 1000 years, and that devoid of any knowledge to read and write or capability of any intellectual enjoyment, the pride and pleasures of most of them consisted in their mere external decorations (Forbes, I, 54).

Of the very low social status of Indian women, Dubois wrote:

> This interesting half of the human race, which exercises such enormous power in other parts of the world, and often decides the fate of empires, occupies in India a position hardly better than that of slaves. Their only vocation in life being to minister to man's physical pleasures and wants, they are considered incapable of developing any of those higher mental qualities which would make them more worthy of consideration and also more capable of playing a useful part in life. Their intellect is thought to be of such a very low order. that when a man has done anything particularly foolish or thoughtless his friends say he has no more sense than a woman. And the women themselves, when they are reproved for any

> serious fault and find it difficult to make a good excuse, always end by saying, 'After all, I am only a woman!' This is always their last word and one to which there is no possible retort. One of the principal percepts taught in Hindu books, and one that is everywhere recognized as true, is that women should be kept in a state of dependence and subjection all their lives, and under no circumstances should they be allowed to become their own mistresses. A woman must obey her parents as long as she is unmarried, and her husband and mother-in-law afterwards. Even when she becomes a widow she is not free, for her own sons become her masters and have the right to order her about! (Beauchamp, 336).

Stating that female exclusion from education was a natural consequence of these low social views, Dubois again pondered over their plight:

> In fact, of what use would learning or accomplishments be to women who are still in such a state of domestic degradation and servitude? All that a Hindu woman need know is how to grind and boil rice and look after her household affairs, which are neither numerous nor difficult to manage (Beauchamp, 336-7).

Among others who bemoaned female exclusion from education, Ward was perhaps the most vociferous:

> What a melancholy fact, ... that there should not exist a single Hindoo school for girls throughout India, that the laws and customs of the Hindoos are inimical to the culture of the female mind; and that she is threatened with widowhood, one of the most dreadful misfortunes in the contemplation of a Hindoo female, if she dare to acquire the knowledge of letters. Here then is a population of fifty million females unable to read and write (Ward, I, Preface, xlviii).

Ward contended that this absence of female schools was further proof of the exclusive secular concern of village schools:

> That this is the only idea the Hindoos have of schools, is further proved by the disgraceful fact, that all India does not supply a single school for girls! Their ideas are, that the employments of a woman do not require the assistance of education: She can sweep the house, cook, collect cow-dung for fuel, wait on her lord, and feed her children without it, and having discharged these offices with fidelity, the whole work of life is accomplished (Ward, I, Introduction, xix).

Lamenting the lack of learned women in India, he again turned his attention to their general illiteracy:

> The women are almost in every instance unable to read. The jealous Hindoos are afraid lest such an acquirement should make them proud, and excite them to engage in clandestine correspondence. Hence they declare, that if a woman learn to read and write she will most certainly become a widow, or fall into some calamity; and many stories are circulated of the dreadful accidents which have befallen such presumptuous females. The Hindoos, therefore, have never been able to boast of a body of female writers, who have contributed to enlarge the stock of knowledge (Ward, II, 503).

Altekar felt that although women in Rajput, Nair, and Zamindar families and, Jain nuns could read and write, these were only exceptions. He also observed that society had a general prejudice against female education, that it was believed that a girl taught to read and write would become a widow, that ordinarily only prostitutes and dancing girls could read and write and that at the advent of British rule female education had practically disappeared from Indian society (Altekar, 1983, 24).

This disappearance of female education as Altekar would have preferred to say, or general exclusion of females from education as we would prefer to put it, is clearly evident from the educational returns.

Table 20: Spread of female education in Madras Presidency, 1822-25

Sl. No.	District	Brahmins	Vaisyas	Sudras	Others	Muslims	Total	% in total school-going population
1	Arcot, North	1	-	32	8	11	52	0.67
2	Arcot, South	-	-	94	10	-	104	0.99
3	Bellary	2	1	26	31	-	60	0.90
4	Canara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Chingleput	3	-	79	34	-	116	1.60
6	Coimbatore	-	-	82	-	-	82	0.92
7	Cuddapah	-	-	68	39	1	108	1.80
8	Ganjum	-	-	2	10	-	12	0.40
9	Guntoor	5	-	37	57	3	102	1.32
10	Madras	1	11	113	51	-	176	3.09
11	Madura	-	-	65	40	-	105	0.76
12	Malabar	5	13	707	343	1122	2190	15.39
13	Masulipatam	1	-	1	29	2	33	0.63
14	Nellore	-	-	55	-	3	58	0.76
15	Rajamundry	3	-	6	28	-	37	0.90
16	Salem	-	-	3	28	27	58	1.25
17	Seringapatam	-	-	14	-	-	14	2.23
18	Tanjore	-	-	125	29	-	154	0.84
19	Tinnevelly	-	-	-	117	2	119	1.27
20	Trichinopoly	-	-	66	18	56	140	1.34
21	Vizagapatam	99	-	73	131	-	303	3.12
	Total	120	25	1648	1003	1227	4023	2.55

Note: The data are not available for Canara. The other blanks refer to 'Nil'
Source: Tabulated from, Dharampal, 91-247

Data available on the spread of female education in Madras Presidency are presented in Table 20. As may be seen from the Table, the girls under instruction accounted for an incomparably small fraction of the total school-going population, which, as we have already seen, accounted for only a small proportion of the total population of school-going age. At least four of the returns show that the girls in schools were mostly devadasis. "The education of females is almost entirely confined in this district to the dancing women, who are generally of the Kykeler caste, a class of weavers"; were the remarks of the Coimbatore Collector. "Female children devoted for the profession of dancing girls at the Hindoo temples are only instructed at schools" were of the Madura Collector. The Masulipatam Collector stated that "with the exception of dancing girls it is very seldom that women of either castes are publicly educated in this part of the country". Finally, the Tinnevelly Collector reported that female scholars "in almost all instances are found to be dancing girls" (Dharampal, 100, 109, 158, 191).

If most of the girls in schools were from devadasi families, their presence in schools only pointed up the stigma attached to female education, and signalled the prohibition of schooling to girls from the so-called respectable families. This is evident from the observations of Dubois:

> Courtesans, whose business in life is to dance in the temples and at public ceremonies, and prostitutes are the only women who are allowed to learn to read, sing, or dance. It would be thought a disgrace to a respectable woman to learn to read; and even if she had learnt she would be ashamed to own it (Beauchamp, 337).

The Bombay returns do not indicate the instruction of girls even to the low extent it existed in Madras. "There are no females educated at all", was the remark of Jervis in his return on South Concan, repeated in the same or in a slightly modified form for each of the nine taluks and for the district as a whole. "Native customs exclude females from the advantages of education", was the remark of the North Concan Judge; "the schools strictly speaking are confined to the education of boys", was that of the Broach Judge (Parulekar, 24-52, 58, 75).

The remaining returns did not mention even these few words. Perhaps the other officials did not find any need for stating the obvious.

In his report on Nattore Adam showed that with a very few exceptions which could scarcely be taken into account, the teachable female population in Rajshahi district were growing up wholly destitute of the knowledge of letters. His description of the general neglect of female education and the reasons for it are applicable to the whole of Bengal:

> The state of instruction amongst this unfortunate class cannot be said to be low, for with a very few individual exceptions there is no instruction at all. Absolute and hopeless ignorance is in general their lot. The notion of providing the means of instruction for female children never enters into the minds of parents; and girls are equally deprived of that imperfect domestic instruction which is sometimes given to boys. A superstitious feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu families, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to write and read will soon after marriage become a widow, an event

> which is regarded as nearly the worst misfortune that can befal the sex; and the belief is also generally entertained in native society that intrigue is facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females. Under the influence of these fears there is not only nothing done in native family to promote female instruction, but an anxiety is often evinced to discourage any inclination to acquire the most elementary knowledge so that when a sister, in the playful innocence of childhood, is observed imitating her brother's attempts at penmanship, she is expressly forbidden to do so and her attention drawn to something else. These superstitious and distrustful feelings prevail extensively, although not universally, both amongst those Hindus who are devoted to the pursuits of religion and those who are engaged in the business of the world. Zemindars are for the most part exempt from them, and in general instruct their daughters in the elements of knowledge, although it is difficult to obtain from them an admission of the fact. They hope to marry their daughters into families of wealth and property, and they perceive that without a knowledge of writing and accounts their daughters will, in the event of widowhood, be incompetent to the management of their deceased husbands' estates, and will unavoidably become a prey to the interested and unprincipled (Dibona, 91-2).

Adam also pointed out that the Muhammadans participated in all the prejudices of the Hindus against the instruction of their female offspring (Dibona, 92), a fact which Forbes also recorded:

> The education of these women, like that of the Hindoos, is very confined; the men do not seem to wish them to be rational companions, and purposely keep them in a statement of ignorance (Forbes, I, 70).

These prejudices have continued unabated well into the present century. As this is a well-known fact we shall not go into more details.

7 CONCLUSION

In this introductory part of our four-part study we tried to profile the institution of indigenous education by analysing the available historical material. This was prompted by our realization that such a broad-based descriptive account is indispensable for an understanding of the sources, the nature, and the ramifications of the caste-discriminations in indigenous Indian education - the main thesis of this study which we propose to explore in the subsequent parts.

In keeping with this motivation, in Section 1, we argued that the institution of indigenous education had a strong discriminatory basis to it, that the metaphor of a Beautiful Tree employed by Gandhi to describe this institution and the subsequent strenuous efforts to vindicate the appropriateness of this metaphor were seriously misplaced, and that in view of these, we ought to set the record straight by trying to understand the institution in all its characteristics and complexity.

As a backdrop to this understanding, in Section 2, we provided a brief account of the origin and significance of the institution, though our formulations may be conjectural and subject to revision in the light of fresh historical data.

Our attempts to understand the characteristics and complexity of the institution led us to an analysis of the nature of indigenous schools, and the nature and extent of indigenous instruction.

Our analysis of the nature of indigenous schools, in Section 4, highlighted the important aspects of these schools such as their habitat, maintenance, and membership.

Our description of the habitat showed the general absence of mural dimension to the indigenous schools. We attributed this absence to the attempts of the Hindu legislators to keep the institution of education unobtrusive with a view to preventing the excluded groups from participation in it; inasmuch as the rise of large buildings and edifices would have created an ever-increasing demand for such participation.

Our discussion of the maintenance of the schools showed that communal and state patronage was virtually confined to the education of Brahmins in the Sanskrit schools, and that as a result of this discriminatory patronage instruction in these schools was free, often along with free board and lodging of the students; whereas instruction in the other schools was expensive, often so exhorbitantly as to prevent the lower castes from any kind of penetration into the institution of education.

Our discussion of the membership of the schools showed the single-teacher character and the consequent small size of the schools. But, viewed from the perspective of pre-British Indian society, as a disciplinarian and high-ranking authoritarian, it was in the interest of the teacher to operate alone rather than sharing his profession with others in the same school. For that, the teacher who was ideally a Brahmin and always a male, clothed, fed, lodged, revered, and worshipped by the society at large, was also a religious guru and a father in status and operated as such in both secular and religious spheres.

Our discussion, in Section 5, of the nature of indigenous instruction, from the perspective of its stages and methods, character and quality, and the prevalence and characteristics of domestic instruction showed its imperfections and inadequacies. But, viewed again from the

perspective of pre-British Indian society, what we perceive as its limitations were perhaps only some of the manifestations of an educational system which was designed and developed to reproduce the society in all its discriminatory dimensions.

Our assessment, in Section 6, of the extent of education showed that despite all disclaimers education had only a very thin spread in the whole of British India. But, viewed again from the perspective of pre-British Indian society and of the deliberate attempts to exclude a large number of social groups, this spread might have been commensurate with the expectations from the educational system.

The institution of indigenous education we thus profiled in terms of the nature of indigenous schools and the nature and extent of indigenous instruction was mainly as it existed in early 19th century, and mainly as revealed by the British educational enquiries described in Section 3, though we also supplemented the data from these enquiries with data from other sources, especially from the enquiries of the Education Commission of 1882.

While our profile has established a more than <u>prima facie</u> case for the view that the institution of education had a strong discriminatory basis to it, we could have perhaps obtained a more comprehensive view of the institution from a more detailed examination, from the earliest times down to the recent past, of its evolution, existence, persistence, interaction with other social and educational institutions, and such other related issues. But, such a view is not really necessary for the limited purpose of our study. Nor are we confident that data will be available for such an ambitious and arduous exercise.

What is, however, more relevant to note here is that although the institution we profiled had begun its downhill journey from as early as the Buddhist times, picked up momentum in this journey from the early times of the Muhammadan invasions, and had become too truncated by early 19th century, it did survive well into the late 19th century: Even at the time of the enquiries of the Education Commission of 1882, the indigenous elementary schools which were known to the education departments of the various provinces but not incorporated into them were as many as 497 in Assam, 4283 in Bengal, 4012 in Bombay, 83 in the Central Provinces, 41 in Coorg, 207 in the Haidarabad Assigned Districts, 2828 in Madras, 7127 in North Western Provinces and Oudh, and 6362 in Punjab, with students numbering 9733, 57305, 78755, 3148, 470, 2672, 54064, 68305, and 86023, respectively (ECR, 63). There were other schools as well, such as of Sanskrit, of Muhammadans, and of Parsis, but there is no need to go into their details.

While the final burial of the institution probably took place in the early part of this century, its death was mainly by the incorporation of those indigenous schools into the British system of education as were found suitable and willing, and partly by the neglect of the other schools. In either case, the process was aided and abetted by those self-seeking caste groups which reaped virtually all the fruits of Gandhi's Beautiful Tree in the pre-British and early-British Indian society. No sooner did these groups realise that the beauty of this tree had begun to fade than they abandoned it and clambered upon the alien tree which had begun to bear them richer fruits. An understanding of who these self-seekers were will be an attempt to identify the major caste-groups discriminated for and against the institution of indigenous education. That will be our task in the remaining three parts of this study.

NOTES

1 Ward was one of the Baptist Missionaries who was at Serampore from 1799 to 1818, and again from 1821 to 1823.

2 Ward also described this as 'the mingled system of civil and religious polity', that is, the four-fold division of Hindu society into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, each division including further divisions and sub-divisions, and each having to perform specific social tasks Ward, I, 64.

3 Adam was another Baptist Missionary, who came to Calcutta in 1818, and in 1821 became a Unitarian. For a brief biographical note on him, see Dibona, 6-7; Sanial, 254.

4 Leitner had held various positions such as Chief Interpretor to the British Commissariat during the Russian War, when he was also in charge of the general Commissariat arrangements; and Dean of the Oriental Section, Professor of Arabic with Muhammadan Law, and Tutor, -- all at the King's College, London (PPR, 395).

Stating that the whole of his evidence before the Education Commission of 1882 pervaded his obtrusive personality, the then Punjab DPI stated before the Punjab Provincial Committee of the Commission:

> Dr.Leitner's evidence consisted of an attack carefully prepared during the two preceding months, on his own department, on the educational officers of the Punjab Government, and to some extent on the Government itself. This attack was directed against the operations of the department during the last quarter of a century; and Dr Leitner was relieved of all other work during the time he devoted to its preparation... (His) evidence contained some statements contrary to fact, and others in which the actual facts had been so distorted that it would require a careful analysis and scrutiny of statistics in order to ascertain exactly the real state of the case... (It) will no doubt be clear to the Commission that no statement made by Dr Leitner in his evidence can be relied on until it has been subjected to independent verification (PPR, 602).

5 After serving for 14 years as Academic Registrar of the University of London, Sir Philip Hartog came to India in 1917 as member of the Commission appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler to inquire into the working of the Calcutta University.

In 1920 he was appointed the first vice-chancellor of the newly created University of Dacca and held that post for five years. He then served for three years as member of the Indian Public Service Commission, and also acted as chairman of the Auxiliary Committee on Education appointed in connection with the inquiries of the Indian Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon. See Hartog,'Education', in Cumming, 120.

6 There are different views as to when the other twice-born castes ceased to participate in the Vedic educational system. According to Ingalls they were not participating for at least about the last 2000 years. Alberuni's observation that the Kshatriyas could learn the Vedas from the Brahmins, but were not allowed to teach them even to the Brahmins, and that the Vaisyas and Sudras were not allowed to hear them much less to pronounce and recite them, indicate that even in early 11th century Kshatriyas were not totally shut out from the Vedic education. Ingalls, 3, Sachau, I, 125.

7 The other great things which Ketkar mentioned as decidedly in favour of the Brahmins were, first, their right to take a gift and beg honourably, which other castes could not do, and second, the great deal of influence which those Brahmins engaged in secular occupations exerted on account of the prestige of their caste. Ketkar, 162.

8 Abbe JA Dubois was another missionary who spent more than three decades in South India, and whom Dumont called the father of anthropologists (Dumont, 59). It has, however, been recently alleged that the work attributed to Dubois was originally written by a Jesuit father in 1777.

9 According to Altekar, the Vedas were first committed to writing only sometime in the 8th or 9th century AD, by Vasukra, an inhabitant of Kashmir. Altekar, 1934, 147.

10 This Minute covered about 40 printed pages and 83 paragraphs. Forrest mentioned it as of March 1824; whereas Parulekar mentioned its date as December 13, 1823. There is need to consult the original documents to ascertain the correct date.

11 For a discussion of this controversy, see, Trevelyan, Chapter I. We will be examining this in detail in a subsequent paper on British flirtation with the filtration theory of education in India.

12 Of these three reports the first, submitted in July 1835, was a digest of information on Indian education in Bengal contained in existing publications and official documents. The second, submitted in December 1835, was on the state of education in Rajshahi district, confined to a single thana or police sub-division out of 10 thanas (and 3 ghatis) in the district. The third was on the state of education in the city and district of Moorshedabad (in the 19 thanas of the city and one thana outside the city), and in the whole of Beerbhoom, Burdwan, South Behar, and Tirhoot districts. According to Adam's claim for the preparation of the second and third reports he had been engaged "an aggregate period of about 15 or 16 months in all seasons of the year in the actual business of local inquiry, during which the state of native education in 7 separate localities or 6 districts and one principal city were investigated". Dibona, 188.

13 The Bombay Provincial Committee used the term indigenous school to mean "an assembly of pupils belonging to more than one family or house, and receiving instruction together from a teacher" BPR, I, 67. Considering the jointness and large size of traditional Hindu families such an assembly could have also been even from a single family.

14 The reference is to the famous Educational Despatch of Charles Wood which put an end to the British flirtation with the filtration theory of education, and laid the foundation for later attempts at mass education in India. We shall say more about this Despatch in a subsequent study.

15 Gratuitous instruction was limited, in the whole of Madras Presidency, to a few Vernacular schools in Masulipatam, 3 of the 583 Vernacular and 9 of the 40 Arabic and Persian schools in North Arcot, and 44 of 884 Vernacular schools in Tanjore. In Bombay Presidency it was limited to a few Vernacular schools in Ahmedabad and Surat, and to 14 of the 19 Arabic and Persian schools in Khandesh. In the Bengal districts, it was limited to 11 of the 401, 4 of the 639, and 5 of the 286 Vernacular schools in Beerbhoom, Burdwan, and Moorshedabad, and to 7 of the 73, 22 of the 108, 9 of the 15, 4 of the 291 and 6 of the 240 Arabic and Persian schools in Beerbhoom, Burdwan, Nattore, South Behar, and Tirhoot, respectively. Dharampal, 116, 140-1, 157-8; Parulekar, 62, 83, 103; Dibona, 134-51, 203-19, 244-54.

16 Accounts at Madras down to 1818 were kept in Pagodas, Fanams, and Cash, viz. 80 Cash = 1 single fanam; 42 single fanams = 1 pagoda. In 1818 rupee was made the standard coin. The pagoda was then reckoned as equivalent to 3.5 rupees. The rupee was equivalent to 16 annas, and the anna was equivalent to 12 pies. Maclean, 643.

17 In the absence of data on teachers for all the Presidencies, we have treated the number of schools as the number of teachers, assuming that schools generally had only one teacher each.

18 The reference is to the observation of LF Smith in Appendix to *Chahar Darwish*, 253. Law referred to the initiation of Humayun thus:

> When Humayun was four years, four months, and four days old, a ceremony was gone through for celebrating the occasion of his being first put under tutors. The child Sultan was seated in the school-house and formally made over to the care of the tutors. Shah Jahan Namah calls it "*maktab ceremony*".

Similarly, he referred to the initiation of Akbar thus:

> When the Emperor was four years, four months, four days old on the 20th November, 1547, he was put to school and Maulana Azamuddin was charged with the responsible task of educating him. Law, 141.

19 Ikkeri was not in Malabar as Walker mentioned (Dharampal, 259). In the note on Peter Mundy's account of this place, Temple wrote:

> Ikkeri, in the Shimoga district of Mysore, was the seat of the Kaladi chiefs who rose to importance in 1560 and subsequently transferred their capital to Ikkeri. In 1639 the capital was removed to Bednur. Ikkeri is now an insignificant village of under 200 inhabitants and is not shown on the *Indian Atlas* sheet of 1892-1899, though it appears in capitals as an important place in the sheet of 1827, Temple, III, 81.

20 The Collector's description of Hulligi/Kadata:

> One of these is a common oblong board about a foot in width and three feet in length. This Board, when plained smooth, has only to be smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal and it is then fit for use. The other is made of cloth, first stiffened with rice water, doubled in folds

resembling a book, and is then covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. The writing on either of these may be effaced by a wet cloth. The pencil used is called Buttapa, a kind of white clay substance, somewhat resembling a crayon, with the exception of being rather harder. Dharampal, 179-80.

21 Adam also mentioned that two modes were adopted of writing on the brazen plate: first, by dissolving chalk in water to a consistence that permitted the scholar to rub it on the plate where it dried and received the impression of a hard pin or reed-pen; and second, by writing on the plate with chalk-ink; that the former was the mode chiefly employed in writing on the board, and that mud was sometimes substituted for moistened chalk. Dibona, 206.

22 The poetical productions cited by Adam were Joseph and Zulaikha, founded on a well-known incident in Hebrew history; the loves of Leila and Majnun; the Secandar Nameh, an account of the exploits of Alexander the Great etc. Dibona, 60.

23 For the names of these books, Dharampal, 198.

24 In Nattore the only works used were, first, Saraswati Bandana, or Salutation to the Goddess of Learning which was committed to memory by frequent repetitions and daily recited by the scholars in a body before they left school, all kneeling with their heads bent to the ground, and following a leader or monitor in the pronunciation of the successive lines or couplets; and, second, Subhankar, or the arithmetical rules of Subhankar, a writer whose name according to Adam was as familiar in Bengal as that of Cocker in England, without anyone knowing who or what he was or when he lived. Six schools taught only the former and only one school taught both. Dibona, 54. In the remaining districts a relatively larger number of written works were used. For the districts of Beerbhoom and Moorshedabad Adam gave a break-up of schools according to books used, along with a brief introduction on each work. The works used in Burdwan were most of those used in Beerbhoom and Moorshedabad, and four others. Some of these and some others were used in South Behar and Tirhoot. For details, see, Dibona, 134-51, 206-7, 211, 214, 217, 219.

25 For the names of Persian books used in Rajamundry See, Dharampal, 198.

26 For the names of Sanskrit works mentioned in the Rajamundry return, Dharampal, 198.

27 The total number of villages mentioned against the Dharwar district is only for 15 of the 18 taluks which together had 236 of the 270 schools. The Collector's return does not contain the number of villages in the remaining three taluks. There are some errors in the totals of schools, scholars, and population mentioned in Jervis' return on South Concan. The figures mentioned in the Table were obtained by retotalling. We have discussed this limitation of the data in detail in part III of this study.

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